

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF NAMBIKUARA

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1. Introduction. The Nambikuara nation is located in West Central Brazil, with villages scattered along the eastern tributaries of the Guaporé River and the western tributaries of the Juruena River. Alternate spellings for the tribal name are Nhambiquara, Nambiquara, and Nambikwara.

The people live on Federal Reservations which cover an estimated area of 50,000 square kilometers in the state of Mato Grosso, accessible from the Pan-American highway (BR 174/364) between the cities of Pontes e Lacerda and Vilhena (state of Rondonia).

Documents give 1770 as the first expedition to discover the Nambikuara, although actual contact occurred in 1907 with the exploration and construction of the telegraph line through their region by the Brazilian Army Official, Marechal Cândido Rondon. According to Marechal Rondon's estimates at that time, there was a population of 10,000. Diseases brought into their region devastated the population in the 1930s and 1940s. Recorded accounts of a measles epidemic tell of entire villages where there were not enough survivors to bury the dead (Bernice text given to M. Kroeker, 1963). Remnants of various bands grouped together, and the estimated population was 500 in the 1960s. Recent census information gives a population figure of around 900.

The nation is composed of a number of bands, each being known by its own name. However, all speak a dialectic variant of the same language, which is mutually intelligible with all the other variants. Many bands have already become extinct. Those still in existence include the Guaporé River Valley bands: $ha^3h\ddot{a}i^1te^2su^2$, $a^3l\ddot{a}n^1te^2su^2$, $wai^2ki^3su^2$, $wa^3su^3su^2$, and $ka^3ti^3t\ddot{a}u^3lhu^2$. Along the tributaries of the Juruena River on the Parecis Plateau are the following bands: ne^3su^2 , $si^3wxai^3su^2$, $ki^3th\ddot{a}u^3lhu^2$, $sax^3wen^3te^2su^2$, $ha^3lo^2te^2su^2$, and $wa^3ka^3li^3te^2su^2$.

Genetically, the language is unclassified. However, it has been very loosely classified by McQuown and Greenberg in the Ge-Pano-Carib phylum (Tax 1960). It is a polysynthetic language. Much of the information is conveyed by suffixes to the verb stem and, to a lesser degree, by suffixes to the noun stem.

Portuguese, the national language of Brazil, is spoken to a certain degree by some of the young men in most villages. Most villages are still basically

monolingual. However, with the advance of civilization the rate of acculturation has increased considerably. The people are slow to embrace changes until those changes have been perceived to be beneficial to the culture. They do not normally oppose nonindigenous elements as long as they do not encroach upon their traditional geographic territory.

I began fieldwork in 1961 and have lived many years in Nambikuara villages, speaking the language on a daily basis. Over 1,500 pages of recorded and transcribed texts form the basis for this paper. Individuals from the various bands who have contributed significantly to this study include Donaldo Kithãulhu, Jaime Halotesu, Coronel Aristides Saxwentesu, Milton Wakalitesu, Yahu Wasusu, and Américo Katitaulhu.

The practical orthography is used in the examples below, except in the section on phonology. Most symbols have their expected values, except that *j* is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate and *x* represents the glottal stop. The sequences *lh* and *nh* are voiceless. Elsewhere *h* is a fricative. The symbols *l* and *n* have their normal values, with some modifications for the environment of *n* as given in the section on phonology. In Portuguese, the convention *nh* is a palatal *n*, but this is not true in Nambikuara. The tone marks are: ¹ falling, ² rising, and ³ low level. A vowel with a tilde is nasalized and an underlined vowel is laryngealized. Vowel diphthongs perform as single vowels. (A list of abbreviations used in this paper appears in Appendix A.)

Syntax of the sentence or clause.

2. Word order. There are four syntactically distinct clause types: intransitive, transitive, stative, and equative. The first two are verbal and the last two are nonverbal. The verbal clause types are distinguished by the types of verb stems and by the relationship of the verb to an object or lack thereof.

The nonverbal clause types are distinguished by the constituents that make up the nonverbal fillers, by the relationship to nouns or pronouns in the clause, and by the obligatory or optional occurrence of these nouns. There are also restrictions as to the occurrence of person and tense/evidential suffixes. These suffixes are described in more detail in section 19–Verbs.

2.1. Intransitive clause. The intransitive clause is distinguished from all others by the obligatory absence of an object of the verb. The verb has only one argument, the subject. The basic order is subject verb. Temporal, locative, and manner words are optional.

- (1) *Wai³a³lxa² ih³-sa³ĩ¹-∅-na²hẽ³-la².*
 dog fled-disappeared-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The dog ran away’.

The formula, including optional constituents, is the following:

+/- temporal +/- locative + subject +/- manner + verb

- (2) $H\tilde{t}^1na^2su^2$ $ha^3lo^2a^2$ u^2lxi^3 $\tilde{a}^3nxai^3-na^1-tu^1-wa^2$.
 today in the fields far away go-1SG-F-IMPF

‘Today, I’m going to the distant fields’.

The order is obligatory on the clause level, but it can change on the discourse level (see 10.1).

It is seldom that all the optional constituents occur in the same clause. The subject, which is not a separate word in this clause, is specified by person markers in the verb suffix.

There is a small group of bivalent verbs which can be either active or stative depending on the person and tense/evidential suffixes. Verb suffixes will be described in detail in 19. In (3), the 1SG refers to the subject and in (4) 1SG refers to the object (patient).

- (3) $\tilde{A}u^3xi^2-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.
 sleep-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

‘I’m going to sleep’.

- (4) $\tilde{A}u^3xi^2-sa^3-nha^2-wa^2$.
 sleep-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I’m sleepy’.

2.2. Transitive clause. The transitive clause is distinguished from all others by the obligatory presence of an object. The action is directed toward the object as goal of the action. The basic order is subject object verb. Locative, temporal, and manner words are optional. Once the subject and the object have been introduced, they are often referred to only by person markers in the verb suffixes. The object word and the subject word will reoccur only if there is a change in relationship or a change of participants. Object persons will be marked with o. Subject persons will not be marked.

The formula, including optional constituents, is the following:

+/- temporal +/- locative + subject +/- benefactive object + object
 +/- manner + verb

- (5) $S\tilde{u}n^2ta^3tai^3t\tilde{a}^2$ jah^1la^2 $sa^3n\tilde{a}i^3a^2$ $su^2-\emptyset-n\tilde{u}^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 yesterday he armadillo kill-3SG-T/E.ID.P-PF

‘Yesterday he killed an armadillo’.

- (6) *Sxi²ha² wa³sut¹txi³ txo³-na¹-tu¹-wa².*
 house quickly build-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will quickly build a house’.

Certain verbs require a benefactive object in addition to the direct object, such as the verb ‘to give’. In other verbs, a benefactive suffix occurs in the verb.

- (7) *Jo³ãu²-ah³la² kax³yuh³xa² ã³hũ¹-nxa²-Ø-tu¹-wa².*
 John-man meat give-O.2SG-3SG-F-IMPF

‘John will give you some meat’.

When the benefactive suffix occurs, there is also a referent pronoun in the person and tense/evidential suffixes of the verb. These suffixes are described in 19. Nouns occurring as benefactive objects are restricted to persons, or objects and animals impersonating people.

Although there are three obligatory nominal constituents, they never all occur in the same clause. Native speakers will break up such a clause into two clauses, cycling the new information to cut down the information load in each clause.

- (8) *Kait¹-jah³lo²na²su² ko³be²ta³-ka³lo³a² so¹-ki²-Ø-na²hẽ³-la².*
 Manu-man blanket-CL.cloth took-BN-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
Jo³ãu²-ah³l-ai²na² a²-ko³be²ta³-ka³lo³a²
 John-man-DEM POS3-blanket-CL.cloth
so¹-ki²-Ø-na²hẽ³-la².
 took-BN-3SG-T/E.IO/P-PF

‘Manu traded for John’s blanket’.

2.3. Stative clause. The stative clause expresses a state in which the experiencer of that state is the grammatical object of the clause and the thing experienced functions grammatically more like a subject. The object suffix is followed by the internal suffix. It indicates something within the experiencer, such as a feeling, a sense of fear, joy, understanding, or desire not experienced by others around him. The imperfective aspect is the final suffix of the verb in the present tense and perfective aspect in the past tenses. The experiencer is mutually exclusive with the experience in free word occurrence.

+/- EXP +/- EXPR + verb

The internal suffix occurs only with first person in individual verification, observation orientation (see 19.1.12.2). In all other occurrences, the T/E will have the usual forms. Note the difference in the suffixes between first and

third person. Because forms are identical in all but first person, only first person will be marked as internal.

- (9) *Heh³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 hunger-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPRF
 ‘I’m hungry’.

Heh³-∅-na³-la³.
 hunger-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF
 ‘He’s hungry’.

- (10) *Heh³-sa³-hē²-la².*
 hunger-O.1SG-INTERN.REP-PF
 ‘I was hungry (today)’.

Heh³-∅-na²-la².
 hunger-3SG-T/E.REP-PF
 ‘He was hungry (today)’.

- (11) *Heh³-sa²-hē¹-la².*
 hunger-O.1SG-INTERN.P-PF
 ‘I was hungry (yesterday)’.

Heh³-∅-na²-hē³-la².
 hunger-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He was hungry (yesterday)’.

In (12), the experiencer is expressed by the first-person object suffix; the experience is expressed by the verb ‘desire’, and the logical object of the desire, ‘gun’, has a subject-like grammatical relation in that it is a noun phrase in clause-initial position (as third person it also has a zero realization in the verb suffix system).

- (12) *Hu³kxa² yxo²kwqin³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 gun desire-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF
 ‘I want a gun’.

- (13) *Yū³la² ten³-∅-na³-la².*
 knife want-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF
 ‘He wants a knife’.

When the object needs to be expressed and the experience is already present, the experiencer is expressed in a preceding clause and only implied in the stative clause. We could change (12) to give more information.

- (14) *Jo³āu²-ah³la² kax³yuh³xa² ya³ni³lxi²-Ø-na³-la².*
 John-man meat desire-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF

‘John is hungry for meat’.

- Hu³kxa³ yxo²kwqin³-Ø-na³-la².*
 gun desire-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF

‘He wants a gun’.

An active verb can be made stative in two ways:

1. When desire is expressed the verb is nominalized, followed by a desiderative stative verb. This in turn is followed by the stative person and internal suffixes.

verb stem + *ti³*(nominalizer) + stative verb + stative person and INTERN suffixes

- (15) *Wa³kon³-ti³-ten³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 work-NMZ-want-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I want to work’.

2. A verbal clause can be made stative by the addition of a status-changer manner word. The active person and tense-experiential suffixes are replaced by stative person and internal suffixes. An example of an active verbal clause is given in (16), a stative clause in (17).

- (16) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-tu¹-wa².*
 work-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will work’.

- (17) *Ū³-txi³ wa³kon³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 lazy-ADVZ work-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I don’t want to work’ or ‘I don’t feel like working’.

Most stative clauses have stative verb stems that do not need status changers.

- (18) *Heh³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 hunger-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I’m hungry’ or ‘I feel hungry’.

- (19) *Yuh³lxi³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 fear-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I’m afraid’.

- (20) *Hxi²thah³-sa³-nha²-wa².*

tired-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

'I'm tired'.

2.4. Equative clause. The equative clause has one obligatory constituent, the predicate complement. It is either a nominal or an adjectival. There may also be a subject that parallels subject in other clause types.

On a nonstructural level there are a number of differences between one where the predicate complement is a nominal and one where the predicate complement is an adjectival.

2.4.1. Nominal equative clause. The nominal equative clause has two constituents, subject and predicate complement. Predicate complement must occur but subject is often implied from context or by gesture, such as pointing to an object. Subject is a noun or pronoun. Predicate complement is a noun.

- (21) *Te²na² txa²-hu³kx-ai²la¹-wa².*

that POS1-gun-EQUAT-IMPF

'That is my gun'.

- (22) *Wai³a³lx-ai²la¹-wa².*

dog-EQUAT-IMPF

'It's a dog'.

- (23) *Jah¹la² txa²-wĩ³n-ai²la¹-wa².*

He POS1-father-EQUAT-IMPF

'He is my father'.

The predicate complement in (21), (22), and (23) can use the indefinite noun suffix *-su²* instead of the definite noun suffix *-a²*. In that case, the verb suffix *-na³la²* is used instead of *-ai²la¹wa²*. Meaning remains the same. (See 16.1.7 for noun article suffixes.)

- (24) *Te²na² txa²-hu³ki³-su²-na³-la².*

that POS1-gun-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

'That is my gun'.

- (25) *Wai³a³lxi³-su²-na³-la².*

dog-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

'It's a dog'.

- (26) *Jah¹la² txa²-wĩ³nu²-su²-na³-la².*

He POS1-father-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

'He is my father'.

Subject can be a proper noun when the predicate complement is a kinship term.

- (27) *Jo³āu²-ah³la² txa²-suk³kx-ai²la¹-wa².*
 John-man POS1-brother-in-law-EQUAT-IMPF
 ‘John is my brother-in-law’.

2.4.2. Adjectival equative clause. The adjectival equative clause has two obligatory constituents: subject, which is a noun, and predicate complement, which is an adjective (see 20). Temporal and locative words can occur but are rare.

The expansion possibilities are different from the nominal equative clause.

- (28) *Ũn³-na³-la².*
 wild-EQUAT-PF
 ‘It’s wild’.
- (29) *He³-hen³-na³-la².*
 red-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
 ‘It’s red’.

The following distinctions occur between nominal equative and adjectival equative clauses.

2.4.2.1. Optional words. Temporal and locative words can occur in an adjectival equative clause but not in a nominal equative clause.

2.4.2.2. Interrogative suffix. Interrogative suffix is different for each type.

- (30) *Txa²-wai³a³lxi³-su²-te²la¹xā³?*
 POS1-dog-INDEF-Q
 ‘Is it my dog?’ (nominal equative clause)
- (31) *Ũn³-ji¹-wa²?*
 wild-Q-IMPF
 ‘Is it wild?’ (adjectival equative clause)

2.4.2.3. Internal expansion. Internal expansion is different for each type. The nominal equative clause may have a certainty emphaziser (CE) suffix.

- (32) *Txa²-wai³a³lxi³-khai³x-ai²la¹-wa².*
 POS1-dog-CE-EQUAT-IMPF
 ‘It’s really my dog’ or ‘It’s my very own dog’.
- (33) *Wai³a³lxi³-su²-khai³x-ai²la¹-wa².*
 dog-INDEF-CE-EQUAT-IMPF
 ‘It’s really a dog’.

The adjectival equative clause may have a positive emphasizer (PE) not found in the nominal equative clause (see 20).

- (34) *Kāin²-na³-la²*. normal
big-EQUAT-PF
'It's big'.
- (35) *Kāin²-khaix¹-na³-la²*. positive emphasizer
big-PE-EQUAT-PF
'It's very big'.
- (36) *Kāin²-ti³he¹-nxa³-wa²*. negative emphasizer
big-NE-NEG-INDEF
'It's not at all big'.

2.4.2.4. Difference of relationship. There is a difference of relationship. The nominal equative clause has a relationship of equality whereas the adjectival equative clause has an attributive relationship.

For example, in the clause 'it's a dog', 'it' is the same as 'dog'; therefore, 'it' equals 'dog'. In the clause 'it's big', 'big' tells something about 'it'; therefore, it attributes something to 'big'. Hence there is an attributive relationship.

The word orders cited above are the normal word orders. There are other orders, due to left dislocation and fronting, which are on a higher level than clause. These are described in 10.

To make any of the above verbal clauses subordinate, the person and tense/evidential suffixes must be replaced with the appropriate subordinate clause suffixes. They must then be followed by the main clause which will include the person and tense/evidential suffixes. The main clause is always the last clause in the sentence (see 15 on subordinate clauses).

- (37) *Jo³āu²-ah³la²* *a³li³-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
John-man leave-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'John left'.
- (38) *Jo³āu²-ah³la²* *a³li³-∅-nū²la²* *sax³we³na²* *ā³wih¹-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
John-man leave-3SG-DSQ forest enter-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'When John left, he went into the forest'.

A clause will often have only one constituent—the verb. Subject and object will usually be indicated only by the person markers in the verb.

3. Parataxis. There may be multi-juxtaposed phrases in the same clause. They can be of various types, as shown in the following examples.

3.1. Noun phrases. There is no apparent limit to the number of noun phrases that can be juxtaposed. The following sentence is taken from a legend as told by a native speaker.

- (39) *Sax³we³na² hu³kx-ē¹ha²-tīh³na², kāin²-tīh³na²,*
 forest vine-CL.vine-CL.string big-CL.string
sa²kī¹-tīh³na², nxe²hxai²hxai²txi² yxau³-sxā³
 tall-CL.string crooked remain-IMSQ
wa³ku³wa³ku³txi² yxau³-sxā³ ka³la³xi²-tīh³na²,
 bumpy remain-IMSQ climbing-CL.string
tē³hu¹t-ai²na² ka³la³xi²-Ø-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la².
 vine-DEM grow upward-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF

‘The big, tall, crooked, and bumpy forest vine climbed upward (on the trees)’.

- (40) *A²kox¹ko¹-nū³xa² a²ta²la²-nū³tā²*
 dangerous-CL.dust strong-CL.dust
a²tīh³na³la³-nū³-nu¹ta²kxai³lu² ũ³hū¹-nyhu¹-Ø-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la².
 poison-CL.dust-TF.RP give-RCP-3SG-T/E.IN.P-RP

‘He gave him (his friend) the dangerous, strong, poison, tobacco dust (ground leaves)’.

3.2. Adverbial phrases. The first example is one of a temporal adverb, the second of a locative adverb.

- (41) *Nxe³hī¹nu¹ta²nān²tū³ sa²ka²nxa¹hi²-nu¹ta²nān²tū³*
 at that time darkness-at the time when
txa²wā¹-we³ta² ka³lū³la³ki²-sxā³ wen¹-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la².
 POS.1+2-hair sprout-IMSQ grow-T/E.IN.P-PF

‘At the time when darkness fell, our hair began to grow’.

- (42) *Nū¹ka³na¹ hū³ne³ka³nāu³-nū¹ka³na¹ wā²lhu²*
 there headwaters-there skin
ne³hē²ki²-na¹-la².
 hang-1SG-T/E.IO.REP-PF

‘I hung up the skin at the headwaters’.

The intonation pattern of any clause begins relatively high, gradually descending until the end of the clause. In phrases, the repeated elements of the phrase return to the same point in the intonation pattern for the repeated and elaborated part of the phrase. After each part there is a slight pause before the next part is begun. The dislocation is always rightward.

3.3. Discontinuous phrases. A phrase can be discontinuous. The first part will be in its normal place in the clause, and the second part will immediately follow the verb (see 23.1.4).

The function of a discontinuous phrase is to either break up an unwieldy cluster of words, thereby cutting down on the amount of new information, or to add information for clarification.

In (43) and (44) the phrases are for the purpose of clarification. Example (45) is not acceptable because the cluster of pre-verb words is too great. Hence, (46) is a solution for that problem.

- (43) *Jah¹la² wɔ̃ã³-∅-na²hẽ³-la², Jo³ãu²-ah³la²-sa³.*
 He came-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF John-man-DC.CLT

‘He came, John that is’.

- (44) *Ka³txa² tau³ka²sa²tã³nhxa³ti³-na¹-hẽ³-la²,*
 tree cut down-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
sũn²tax³ti³hĩ¹nai³ta²-sa³.
 yesterday-DC.CLT

‘I cut down the tree, yesterday that is’.

- (45) **Ju³tĩ²-yen³nãu³a² kax³na³ha²t-ai³tã² Jo³se²-ah³la²*
 Juina-village morning-T.P Joe-man
sxi²ha² txon³-∅-na²hẽ³-la².
 house build-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘Yesterday morning, Joe built a house in the Juina village’.

- (46) *Ju³tĩ²-yen³nãu³a² kax³na³ha²t-ai³tã² sxi²ha²*
 Juina-village morning-T.P house
txon³-∅-na²hẽ³-la², Jo³se²-ah³la²-sa³.
 build-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF Joe-man-DC.CLT

‘Yesterday morning he built a house in the Juina village, Joe that is’.

4. Ellipsis. All nonverbal constituents, including the nominal subject and object, can be omitted. In most cases they are omitted unless new information is to be introduced which would involve one of the aforementioned constituents. The nominal subject or object must have been made apparent either through linguistic or nonlinguistic context. It need not have occurred in the preceding clause. If the omitted constituent is a subject or object, the person will be indicated by a verb suffix. Third person does not have an overt suffix form and is indicated in the examples in this paper by ∅ (see 19.1.6 and 19.1.8).

- (47) *Bo²la³-nxq³ka² in³txa² ũ³hũ¹-Ø-na¹-tu¹-wa².*
 ball-CL.sphere man give-O.3SG-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will give the ball to the man’.

The clause will more often be given as follows:

- (48) *Bo²la³-nxa³ka² ũhũ¹-Ø-na¹-tu¹-wa².*
 ball-CL.sphere give-O.3SG-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will give him the ball’.

Verb phrases can never be omitted. There are no “dummy verbs.” The pro-verb *nxe³*- may be used to refer specifically to the last-mentioned independent verb (see 19.3.5).

There is also one other kind of ellipsis. In informal conversation where there are repeated changes between two speakers, even verb stems can be omitted. In the following example someone states that John came. Someone else states that everyone knows that he came. The second speaker gives only the person and tense/evidential suffixes of the verb as his statement. In formal speech, such as storytelling by the old men, this type of ellipsis is not allowed.

- (49) *Jo³āu²-ah³la² wxā³-Ø-na²hē³-la².*
 John-man come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John came yesterday’.

Tait¹tu³-wa².
 T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘He did, as we all know’.

5. Reflexives and reciprocals.

5.1. Reflexives. Reflexivity is expressed as a verb suffix. It follows closely the end of the verb stem preceding modifiers and person markers.

- (50) *Hxi²-yo³li²-nha¹-ha²kxai³ yuh³lxi³-Ø-na²hē³-la².*
 finger-cut-RFX-CAUS afraid-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘Because he cut his finger, he was afraid’.

The marker *-nha¹* is invariable for all persons and number. But it is subject to modification by morphophonemic rules (see 25.7). Here is a case of vowel elision:

- (51) *Hxi²-yo³li²-nh-a¹-hē³-la².*
 Finger-cut-RFX-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘I cut my finger’.

- (52) *Hxi²-yo³li²-nh-∅-ain¹-na²hē³-la².*

Finger-cut-RFX-3SG-3PL-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They cut their fingers’.

The scope of the reflexive is confined to a single clause, but it occurs in both dependent (50) and independent (51) clauses. It is controlled by the subject.

The possessive reflexives are not expressed in the same way. The clause needs to be rephrased in such instances.

- (53) *Jo³āu²-ah³la² a²-sxe³xa³-ka³lxu³-khai³xa² tē³-nū²la²*

John-man POS3-wife-woman-CE take-DSQ

Ma³naus²-thī³-na² ai³-yah³-∅-na²hē³-la².

Manaus-town go-DU-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John went to Manaus with his own wife’.

- (54) *Jo³āu²-ah³la² sa²kxai³lu² Jo³se²-ah³la² a²-sxe³xa²*

John-man NSP Joe-man POS3-wife

tē³-nū²la² Ma³naus²-thī³-na² ai³-yah³-∅-na²hē³-la².

take-DSQ Manaus-town go-DU-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John went to Manaus with Joe’s wife’.

In English, the reflexive pronoun can be used to emphasize a noun: ‘he himself went’. The same meaning is expressed in Nambikuara by means of an emphasizer word after the noun in question, but it has no relationship to the reflexive pronoun system.

- (55) *Jah¹la² hi²sen³su² ai³-∅-na²hē³-la².*

He EMPZ go-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘He himself went’.

5.2. Reciprocals. Reciprocals are very much like the reflexives except that the form is *-nyhuh¹* instead of *-nha¹*. As is the case with the reflexives, there are rules of vowel elision that come into play when the following syllable begins with a vowel (see 25.7).

- (56) *Ī³yau¹ū³-nha²-∅-hē³-la².*

teach-RFX-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘He taught himself’.

- (57) *Ī³yau¹ū³-nyhuh¹-∅-hē³-la².*

teach-RCP-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They taught each other’.

When the third-person plural forms are used there is an approximation to a nonagentive passive.

- (58) *yen³kxa²* *so¹ki²-nyhain¹-Ø-thi³na²*
 things take-RCP.PL-3SG-house
 ‘trading house’

6. Passives. There are no passive constructions in the language. The concepts must be transformed into active constructions.

7. Mood/modality, voice/valency.

7.1. Mood/modality. Mood is either imperative or nonimperative. Imperatives are either command, warning, or hortatory. Nonimperatives are declarative or interrogative. For a full description of imperatives and examples, see 12. For a full description of interrogatives, see 11. Declaratives are treated in the basic description of verbs in 19.

7.2. Voice/valency. Voice can be active, stative, or equative. In a verb construction of active voice, the grammatical subject is the actor and is marked by an actor suffix. In a verb construction of stative voice, the subject is the experiencer of the action and is marked by an experiencer suffix (see 2.3). In a verb construction of equative voice, no grammatical subject is expressed in the suffix system. It appears elsewhere as a separate word in the clause or is implied from context or nonverbal communication (see 2.4).

Intransitive verbs become transitive by the addition of the benefactive suffix *-ki²* to the verb stem.

- (59) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-tu¹-wa².* intransitive
 work-1SG-F-IMPF
 ‘I will work’.
- (60) *Wa³kon³-ki²-na¹-tu¹-wa².* transitive
 work-BN-1SG-F-IMPF
 ‘I will work for him’.

Transitive verbs become intransitive by the addition of a reflexive suffix to the verb stem. For more details on reflexives, see 5.1.

- (61) *Kax³yuh³xa²* *sĩ³na²* *ũh³-yo³li²-Ø-na²hẽ³-la².*
 game meat INSTR-cut-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He cut up the meat’.

- (62) $Hxi^2-yo^3li^2-nha^2-\emptyset-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 finger-cut-RFX-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He cut his finger’.

8. Comparatives and equatives. There is a three-way division in this section between comparatives, equatives, and correlatives.

8.1. Comparatives. Comparatives can be expressed as some thing/person ‘always remaining bigger’.

- (63) $K\tilde{a}in^2-txi^3$ $yxau^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 Big-ADVZ remain-3SG-EQUAT-PF
 ‘He remains big’ or ‘He is bigger’.
- (64) $Jo^3se^2-yah^3la^2$ $k\tilde{a}in^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$. $Yx\tilde{a}n^1ta^1$ $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$
 Joe-man big-3SG-EQUAT-PF CTR John-man
 $k\tilde{a}in^2-txi^3$ $yxau^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 big-ADVZ remain-3SG-EQUAT-PF
 ‘Joe is big. But John is bigger’.

Comparatives can be expressed as some thing/person ‘already being big’. Both sets of examples convey the thought that Joe’s ‘bigness’ does not come up to John’s ‘bigness’.

- (65) \tilde{A}^2la^2 $k\tilde{a}in^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 Already big-3SG-EQUAT-PF
 ‘He’s already big’ or ‘He is bigger’.
- (66) $Jo^3se^2-yah^3la^2$ $kain^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$. $Yx\tilde{a}n^1ta^1$ $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$
 Joe-man big-3SG-EQUAT-PF CTR John-man
 \tilde{a}^2la^2 $k\tilde{a}in^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 already big-3SG-EQUAT-PF
 ‘Joe is big. But John is bigger’.

8.2. Equatives. Equatives can be expressed as one thing being like another.

- (67) $Jo^3se^2-ah^3la^2$ $sa^2kxai^3lu^2$ $Jo^3\tilde{a}o^2-ah^3la^2$ $k\tilde{a}in^2-kxa^2$
 Joe-man NSP John-man big-NMZ
 $y\tilde{a}^1nxe^2$ $yxau^2-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 like that remains-3SG-EQUAT-PF

‘Joe’s bigness is like John’s bigness’ or ‘Joe is as big as John’.

Equatives can express equality.

- (68) *Jo³se²-ah³la²* *Jo³āu²-ah³la²* *a²-kāin²-ju³ta²*
 Joe-man John-man POS3-big-STAT
ā³nhau³ko³-∅-tā³-la².
 equal-3SG-EQUAT-PF

‘Joe is as big as John’ or ‘Joe’s and John’s “bigness” are the same (equal)’.

8.3. Correlatives. The correlative comparison is expressed as one thing being like something else.

- (69) *Jah¹la²* *wi¹-kāi³-kxa²-yā¹nxe²* *wi¹-kāi³-jxah¹lxi³hē¹-la²*.
 He well-do-NMZ-like that well-do-WIMP.2PL-PF
 ‘Do well as he does’.

9. Coordination. Clauses are coordinated by replacing the tense/evidential and aspect suffixes of the verb word with the appropriate conjunctive ending: *-ha²kxai³* ADD, *-ta¹* CTR, or *-tā³nxa²* CHOIC. There may be multi-juxtaposed clauses coordinated in a single sentence (see 72).

Coordinating clauses with ADD or CHOIC can have multiple clauses, but CTR can only have two clauses due to obvious semantic restrictions.

- (70) *In³txi³-nāu³xa²* *wa³ko³n-ai¹n-∅-ha²kxai³* *txu¹txi³-nāu³xa²*
 Man-group work-3PL-3SG-ADD woman-group
ā³la² *hāu¹n-ai¹n-∅-ha²kxai³* *ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
 pequi gather-3PL-3SG-ADD 3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The men worked and the women gathered pequi fruit’.

- (71) *In³txi³-nāu³xa²* *ai³n-ain¹-∅-ta¹* *kax³yuh³xa²*
 Man-group hunt-3PL-3SG-CTR game
a³n-ai¹n-∅-xa³-hē³-la².
 kill-3PL-3SG-NEG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The men went hunting, but killed nothing’.

- (72) *In³txi³-nāu³xa²* *wa³kon³-tā³nxa²* *kax³yuh³xa²*
 Man-group work-CHOIC game
ai³-tā³nxa² *ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
 hunt-CHOIC 3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The men either worked or hunted for game’.

Constituents within a clause can also be coordinated. Nominal and adverbial phrases are coordinated by using the indefinite nominal suffix *-su²*. When a nominal phrase occurs singly, i.e., not coordinated, the definite

nominal suffix $-a^2$ will occur (see 16.2.2, example 205). The last syllable of the phrase is slightly lengthened before proceeding to the following phrase.

Coordination may also be expressed by attaching the suffix $-ha^2kxai^3$ to the stem of a noun or adverb. The suffix $-ha^2kxai^3$ has other syntactic functions which are treated in 15.1.3.3.

- (73) $Wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2$ $sxa^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2$
 come-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF rest-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF
 $wa^3ko^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2$ $\tilde{a}^3yxo^2ha^3kxa^1$
 work-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF all
 $yai^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 eat-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The ones who came, the ones who rested, and the ones who worked, all ate’.

- (74) $Wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2-ha^2kxai^3$ $sxa^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2-ha^2kxai^3$
 come-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF-ADD rest-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF-ADD
 $wa^3ko^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2-su^2-ha^2kxai^3$ $\tilde{a}^3yxo^2ha^3hxa^1$
 work-3PL-3SG-NMZ-INDEF-ADD all
 $yai^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 eat-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The ones who came, the ones who rested, and the ones who worked all ate’.

The above phrases can be transformed into a choice relationship by exchanging the suffix $-te^2su^2ha^2kxai^3$ ADD for the suffix $-te^2la^3tq^3nxa^2$ CHOIC.

- (75) $Wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2la^3-tq^3nxa^2$ $sxa^3-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2la^3-tq^3nxa^2$
 come-3PL-3SG-NMZ-CHOIC rest-3PL-3SG-NMZ-CHOIC
 $wa^3ko^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-te^2la^3-tq^3nxa^2$ $yai^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$.
 work-3PL-3SG-NMZ-CHOIC eat-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF

‘The ones who came, or the ones who rested, or the ones who worked, will eat’.

Verb phrases are coordinated by replacing the person, tense/evidential, and aspect suffixes with the suffix $-i^2$ ‘sequential’. The person, tense/evidential, and aspect suffixes will occur only at the end of the clause.

- (76) $In^3txi^3-n\tilde{a}u^3xa^2$ $wa^3ko^3n-i^2$ $kax^3yuh^3xa^2$ a^3n-i^2
 Man-group work-SQT game hunt-SQT
 sxi^2ha^2 txo^3n-i^2 $ain^1-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$.
 house build-SQT 3PL-3SG-F-IMPF

‘The men will work, hunt game, and build a house’.

Comitatives are expressed by employing the suffix *-ki²* ‘benefactive’ and the suffix *-nyhuh¹* ‘reciprocal’, or by using the verb *ã³si³tẽ³ki²*- ‘to accompany’. The latter form does not need *-nyhuh¹* ‘reciprocal’ because it is inherent in the meaning of the verb stem.

- (77) *Wa³kon³-ki²-nyhuh¹-∅-na³-la²*.
work-BN-RCP-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF

‘He is working for/with him’.

- (78) *Jo³ãu²-ah³la² ã³si³tẽ³ki²-∅-na²hẽ³-la²*.
John-man accompany-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John went with him’.

There are no apparent restrictions on mixing complex nominalized constructions with simple nouns in coordinated constructions.

- (79) *Jo³ãu²-ah³lo²-su²-ha²kxai³ yo³na² wxã³-jah¹lo²-su²-ha²kxai³*
John-man-INDEF-ADD behind come-man-INDEF-ADD
nũ³-ka³yãu¹-jah¹lo²-su²-ha²kxai³ yxo²ha³kxa¹
arm-crooked-man-INDEF-ADD all
txa²-nũ³ka³txi³-s-ain¹-na³-la².
POS1-group-INDEF-3PL-T/E.IO.PRES-PF

‘John, the one coming later, and the one with the crooked arm are all from my group’.

There is no ambiguity about the possibility that John might be the one coming later, thus referring to two people rather than three in this sentence. If that were the intent, there would be a definite article suffix on the noun ‘John’.

- (80) *Jo³ão²-ah³l-a² yo³na² wxã³-jah¹lo²-su² te²-su²-ha²kxai³*
John-man-DEF behind come-man-INDEF that-INDEF-ADD
nũ³-ka³yãu¹-jah¹lo²-su²-ha²kxai³
arm-crooked-man-INDEF-ADD
txa²-nũ³ka³txi³-s-ain¹-na³-la².
POS1-group-INDEF-3PL-T/E.IO.PRES-PF

‘John the one coming later, and the one with the crooked arm are both from my group’.

Coordination seems to be possible with all types of verbs and nouns. No restrictions have been noted.

10. Pragmatic strategies and discourse characteristics. Discourse structure is built on the basic structure of the clause and the sentence. These

details will not be repeated here unless they are pertinent to any given point in the discussion.

10.1. Topic. Topic can be limited to only one clause or it can cover a series of clauses. The two most common ways of indicating topic are fronting and left dislocation.

10.1.1. Fronting. A nominal clause constituent is topicalized when it is fronted, that is, when it is moved out of its normal word order in the clause to first position in the clause. The normal word order is T/LSV or T/LSOV, depending on whether the clause is intransitive or transitive. When fronting occurs, either S or O is taken out of its normal order and placed preceding the T/L.

- (81) $\underline{A}i^3na^2$ $Ju^3\tilde{r}^2n\text{-}yau^3a^2$ $sai^1\text{-}te^3l\text{-}hx\tilde{a}^3$
 Fish Juina-river catch-AUX.IMM-IMSQ
 $aun^3t\text{-}ain^1\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}na^2h\tilde{e}^3\text{-}la^2$.
 leave-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They went to the Juina River to fish’.

Since ‘fish’ (O) precedes ‘Juina River’ (L), the topic of this clause and following clauses will be ‘fish’. This topic will continue until a new topic is introduced. The new topic will, in most cases, be indicated by another clause with a fronted constituent, a left dislocated constituent, or by a change of location or time.

In many cases, the fronted constituent will be preceded by one of the following conjunctions: $-kxai^2n\tilde{a}n^2tu^3$ ‘high probability’, $-kxa^2ha^3ta^3nx\tilde{a}n^2tu^3$ ‘concessional’, or $yx\tilde{a}n^1ta^1$ ‘adversative’.

In the following example, the people are going on a trip. Then the focus changes to the speaker and his plans. The trip has been mentioned before. Now only the pro-verb is used, elided with the third-person plural, i.e., $Nx\text{-}ain^1\text{-}$.

- (82) $Nx\text{-}ain^1\text{-}kxa^2ha^3ta^3nx\tilde{a}n^2tu^3$ $txai^2li^2$ $yon^3n\tilde{a}n^2tu^3$
 PRV-3PL-CONC I behind
 $sxa^3\text{-}na^1\text{-}tu^1\text{-}wa^2$.
 stay-1SG-F-IMPF

‘Even though they go away, I will remain behind’.

In the following example, the speaker has been talking about what the rest of the villagers are doing. Now he will switch from the rest of the people to himself. In this case he does not use the aforementioned conjunctions. Instead, he uses the ‘attention-switch’ conjunction $nxa^2ha^1te^1$. The first-person pronoun free form precedes the temporal phrase, thus indicating that the topic has now changed from the villagers to the speaker himself.

- (83) *Nxe³-nxa²ha¹te¹ txai²na² sa²kxai³lu² ā¹ka³nxa³ha²ta³a²*
 PRV-AS I NSP tomorrow morning
t̃³yu¹li²nxa³ta³lxa¹ wqih³nxā³nxai³tān²ta³
 early leaves
wā²nāu²-so¹xi²-na¹-tu¹-wa².
 break-bring-1SG-F-IMPF

‘Then, tomorrow morning, early, I will get leaves (for my house roof)’.

In the next example, the object of an SOV clause has been fronted to change it into an OSV clause.

- (84) *Wē³sa³-nū¹ta²kxai³lu² wē³sa²nū¹ta² a²-wī³nū²su² te²kxai³lu²*
 child-TF.RP child POS3-father ACTSP
tē³-sxā³ ai³-∅-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la².
 take-IMSQ go-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF

‘The child’s father led the child’.

The fronting of ‘child’ makes him the topic of the next section.

There is also a modified form of fronting in which the word at the beginning of the clause does not make sense in that clause but fits into the topic of next clause. It starts a new topic section consisting of two clauses.

- (85) *Nxe³-kxai²nān²tu³ hi³a² Yax³wa³la³ne³ki³a²*
 PRV-HPROB poles Fox headwaters
ā³yxau³-ya³sain¹-na²hē³-la². Ya³sai¹n-ha²kxai³
 stay-1+3-T/E.IO.P-PF 1+3-ADD
hi³a² t̃³hax³-ja³sah¹lxi³hē¹l-i¹. Nx-ai¹-na¹-hē²-la².
 poles make bridge-WHRT-DS.CLT PRV-3PL-1SG-T/E.IO.REP-PF

‘Thus, concerning the poles, we were staying at the Fox headwaters, and I said to them, “Let’s make a bridge with these poles”’.

10.1.2. Left dislocation. A nominal constituent may be added at the beginning of the clause. It must have a close lexical relation to a nominal already in the clause, and that one will be the topic of the clauses following. It is usually preceded by one of three conjunctions: *jut¹ta³la³na¹ha²kxai³* ‘major topic change’, *na¹ha²kxai³* ‘similarly’, or *hā²wxān³txa³* ‘later’. This is a different set of conjunctions from the ones that normally introduce fronted clauses.

The left dislocated constituent usually ends with the suffix *-tu³* ‘incomplete’, implying that there is more information to come on this topic. In the

following example, the left dislocated constituent has a whole-to-part relationship with its in-clause counterpart.

- (86) *Jut¹ta³la³ na¹ha²kxai³ hai³syx-u³tai²nān²tu³*
 major topic change field-work
- wa³lin³-su³ai²nān²tu³ ā³nī³nx²-nha²khi³ nxe³-ki³-jau³su²*
 manioc-shoots plant-PNS.fore PRV-1+2-THOT
- to³-ki³-tai¹ti²ti³. Yxān¹ta¹ su³-ka³na³ku²*
 repeat-1+2-T/E.CO.P CTR shoots-a few
- ī³hxa³-ki³-tai¹ti²ti³.*
 planted-1+2-T/E.CO.P

‘Concerning the work in the field, we thought we wouldn’t get the shoots planted. But we have planted a few as everyone knows’.

10.1.3. Other markers. There are other ways of changing topics. When only two topics are being discussed in a given section of discourse, it is enough to employ only the attention switch conjunction *nxa²ha¹te¹*. It could be considered the default form. In the following example, the cattle destroyed the food in the fields. Then the topic switches to the reaction of the people. Note that the second sentence begins with attention switch as a conjunction. Then follows a clause with attention switch as a verb suffix. These two occurrences of attention switch refer to the same switch, not to two different switches.

- (87) *Pon¹su² wak²ki³su² te²kxai³lu² a³li³-nū²la²*
 cattle cows ACTSP come-DSQ
- su²la³kx-ain²-Ø-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la². Nxe³-nxa²ha¹te¹ yain³txa²*
 destroy-3PL-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF PRV-AS food
- ā³kho³kx-ain¹-Ø-nxa²ha¹te¹ a²nū²-ai²na² hi²sen³kxai³lu²*
 spoiled-3PL-3SG-AS people-DEM EMPZ
- pon¹-nu¹ta²kxai³lu² an³-nū²la² ā³ki²-nhyain¹-Ø-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la².*
 cattle-TF.RP kill-DSQ discard-3PL-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF

‘The cattle came and destroyed their fields. Then the people killed the cattle and threw away (the meat)’.

10.2. Emphasis. Emphasis is indicated at word level by use of the demonstrative pronoun suffix *-ai²li²*.

- (88) *wai³a³lx-a²*
 dog-DEF
 ‘the dog’

*wai*³*a*³*lx-ai*²*li*²

dog-DEM

‘that dog’

At the clause level, emphasis is marked by noun specifier *sa*²*kxai*³*lu*² or by actor specifier *te*²*kxai*³(*lu*²). Note that when the noun specifier is added, *-ai*²*li*² DEM becomes *-ai*²*na*², the nonfinal form of *-ai*²*li*².

(89) *Wai*³*a*³*lx-ai*²*na*² *sa*²*kxai*³*lu*² *a*³*li*³- \emptyset -*na*²*hē*³-*la*².

dog-DEM

NSP

leave-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The dog left’.

(90) *Pon*¹*su*² *te*²*kxai*³*lu*² *ā*³*kho*³*kx-ain*¹- \emptyset -*na*²*hē*³-*la*².

cattle

ACTSP

spoiled-PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘It was the cattle that spoiled (the fields)’.

10.3 New–given information. Given information in nouns is marked by anaphoric suffixes (see 14), and in verbs by collective verification suffixes (see 19.1.12.2).

New information is brought in by double mention of the participant (see 15.1.3.3) and in verbs by individual verification suffixes (see 19.1.12.2).

10.4. Definiteness (of referents). The article suffix indicating degree of definiteness is discussed in 16.1.7.

10.5. Primary vs. secondary information. Primary information carries the main line of the paragraph. Secondary information brings in other useful information that is helpful to the understanding of the text but does not further the actual line of action. Some types of secondary information can be personal experiences that illustrate what the primary is talking about. In the following myth, the children are told by the mother not to mess with the mother’s skin, which she had shed and hung on some bushes. Then the narrator says that our own children never understand. Following this statement he goes back to the thematic line.

(91) *A*²*hū*³*lyē*³*na*² *hi*³*ne*³*ka*² *yx*⁰*hē*³*ki*²-*tāu*³ *wā*²*lu*¹*tai*²*na*²

Stream

branch

hang-where

skin

*wxai*³-*yah*³*lx*³-*txa*³*hē*¹*l-i*¹. *Wxa*²-*ye*³*na*²

mess with-2PL-PRH-DS.CLT POS2-eyes

*ī*²-*jxah*¹*lx*³*hē*¹*l-i*¹.

*Nxe*³-*ta*¹*hxai*²*hē*¹-*la*².

*Nxe*³-*yān*¹*ta*¹

look-WIMP.2PL-DS.CLT

PRV-T/E.IO.RP-PF

PRV-CTR

*txa*²*wā*¹-*wē*³*sa*² *ā*³-*ne*³-*wih*¹-*nē*³*l-xa*³-*te*³*t*²*tu*³-*wa*².

POS1 +2-children

UNSPCR-NI.head-enter-1 +2-NEG-T/E.CO.PRES-PF

Jā¹-nxe³-∅-ta¹hxai²hē¹-la². Jā¹-nxe³-nū²la² wē³ha³lxi³su²
 Again-PRV-3SG-T/E.IO.PF Again-PRV-DSQ children
te²kxai³lu² aun³ta²-kan³-s-ĩ²-te³nah¹lxi¹
 ACTSP leave-descend-IMSQ-see-QOP

‘I hung my skin on a branch. Look, but don’t touch it. That’s the way it’s always told. But our children are always slow learners. That’s the way it was with them. Now, returning to the story. The children went down to look. . . ’

One can also return to the thematic line by taking the last verb of the primary information, or a verb that will be a link to continue the story, nominalize the verb with *-kxa²* and add *-txa²* ‘return referent marker’ to the end. Phonologically these two morphemes become *-kxan²txa²*. The stage is now set to continue with the primary information. In the following example, the narrator is telling what was going on in the village several months ago. He has been talking about the people living together with a group of visiting Indians. Then word came of the death of a chief in a distant village. Not knowing whether or not it was true, they were fearful. This last statement is secondary information since his primary information is about the narrator’s activities. At this point he wants to get back to the activities of his people, so he employs *-kxan²txa²* ‘return referent marker’ to return to the primary information.

- (92) *yxau³-ya³sain¹-∅-na²hē³-la².*
 . . . live-1+2-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF (individual verification—the listener was not there)

‘I with them lived there’.

(Now comes the section about the death in the distant village—collective verification, both the speaker and the listener know this: . . . *tai¹ti¹tu³wa²*; see 19.1.12.2.)

Jā¹-nx-ain¹-∅-kxan²txa² hī¹nai³kxai³lu² ti¹ai²li²
 Again-PRV-3PL-3SG-RR at that time here
ā³yxau³-ya³sain¹-∅-toh³-na²hē³-la².
 lived-1+2-3SG-again-T/E.IO.P-PF (individual verification)

‘Returning to the main topic, they lived here again, and I with them’.

11. Interrogatives. An interrogative sentence is marked by a question suffix immediately following the person markers. It replaces the tense/evidential suffixes of the positive statement (see 19.1.12.2). Some forms are

used in more than one suffix system. There is no change in the basic intonation pattern.

The word order is based on the positive statement form of the various clause types (see 2).

11.1. Polar (i.e., yes–no) questions.

11.1.1. Nonverbal clauses. In nonverbal clauses, the equative uses *-te²la¹xã³*.

- (93) *Wai³a³lxi³su²-te²la¹xã³?*
 dog-Q
 'Is it a dog?'

The stative and the descriptive have a choice of either *-ji¹wa²* or *-hã¹*. There seems to be no difference in meaning. The former is more commonly used.

- (94) *Heh³-nxa²-ji¹-wa²?*
 hunger-O.2SG-Q-IMPF
 'Are you hungry?'
- (95) *Heh³-nxa²-hã¹?*
 hunger-O.2SG-Q
 'Are you hungry?'

11.1.2. Verbal clauses. In verbal clauses, the inflectional question suffixes replace the tense/evidential suffixes which occur in noninterrogative sentences (see 19.1.12.2).

11.1.2.1. Individual verification, observation orientation.

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| (96) Present | <i>So¹x-ain¹-Ø-ji¹-wa²?</i>
take-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.PRES-IMPF
'Are they taking it?' |
| Recent | <i>So¹x-ain¹-Ø-thi²-la²?</i>
take-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.REP-PF
'Did they take it (today)?' |
| Past | <i>So¹x-ain¹-Ø-thai¹-la²?</i>
take-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.P-PF
'Did they take it (yesterday)?' |

11.1.2.2. Individual verification, deduction orientation.

- (97) Present *Wxã³-ain¹-Ø-yu²lhi²-la²?*
 come-3PL-3SG-Q.ID.PRES-PF
 'Is there evidence that they are coming?'

- Recent *Wxã³-ain¹-∅-nũ²lhi²-la²?*
 come-3PL-3SG-Q.ID.REP-PF
 ‘Is there evidence that they came today?’
- Past *Wxã³-ain¹-∅-nũ²lhai¹-la²?*
 come-3PL-3SG-Q.ID.P-PF
 ‘Is there evidence that they came yesterday?’

11.1.2.3. Individual verification, customary orientation.

- (98) Present *Txu³lxa² wxa²xuh³-∅-te²ju²lhai¹-la²?*
 Agouti dig-3SG-Q.IC-PF
 ‘Does the agouti dig holes in the ground?’

11.1.2.4. Individual verification, deduction orientation.

- (99) Past *Txu³lxa² ai³-∅-tan²tai²?*
 Agouti go-3SG-Q.ID
 ‘Did the agouti go by (as evidenced by a hole he had dug)?’

11.1.2.5. Individual verification, narration orientation.

- (100) Remote *Ka³na²hah³l-ai²na² eh³xa² txo²-∅-ta¹hxai²yu²lhai¹-la²?*
 woodpecker-DEM ax sharp-3SG-Q.IN.RP-PF
 ‘Was the woodpecker’s ax sharp (as told by the old ones)?’

11.1.2.6. Collective verification, observation orientation.

- (101) Present *Wa³kon³-∅-te²la¹xã³?*
 work-3SG-Q.CO.PRES
 ‘Is he working?’
- Recent *Wa³kon³-∅-te²ta²na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CO.REP
 ‘Was he working today?’
- Past *Wa³kon³-∅-te³ta²hẽ³na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CO.P
 ‘Was he working yesterday?’

11.1.2.7. Collective verification, deduction orientation. Note that all the collective verification questions, except observation orientation present tense, end in *na²*. This is true for both men and women addressees.

- (102) Recent *Wa³kon³-∅-te²sin²ju²na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CD.REP
 ‘Was he working today?’

Past *Wa³kon³-Ø-te³tũ²lhai¹na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CD.P
 ‘Was he working yesterday?’

11.1.2.8. Collective verification, narration orientation.

(103) Recent *Wa³kon³-Ø-ta¹te²sẽ²na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CN.REP
 ‘Was he working today?’

Past *Wa³kon³-Ø-ta¹te²sẽ¹na²?*
 work-3SG-Q.CN.P
 ‘Was he working yesterday?’

Remote *Wa³kon³-Ø-ta¹hxai²te²sẽ¹na²?*
 Work-3SG-Q.CN.RP
 ‘Was he working in the distant past?’

In replying to the verbal clause questions just given, the speaker will always begin with the negative response phrase (which has nothing to do with whether the response really is negative or not) and then immediately go on to answer the question.

(104) *Wa³kon³-Ø-thi²la²?* *Nxẽ²nxa³wa².* *Wa³kon³-Ø-na²-la².*
 work-3SG-Q.IO.REP-PF Not at all. work-3SG-T/E.IO.REP-PF
 ‘Did he work today? He worked today’.

(105) *Eh³xa² so¹kx-ain¹-Ø-thai¹la²?* *Nxẽ²nxa³wa².* *Eh³xa²*
 ax get-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.P-PF Not at all. ax
 tah²-wxi²a² so¹kx-ain¹-Ø-na²hẽ¹-la².
 new-NI.tooth get-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘Did they get an ax? They got a new ax’.

11.2. Question word (WH) questions. For WH questions, a question word is inserted at the beginning of the clause. (See 17.7 for a list of question words and phrases.) The question suffixes described in 11.1 also occur with WH questions.

A question clitic *-ta³* is attached to the end of most WH phrases. It replaces the definite article suffix of the noun. Note the difference in the WH word in (109) and (110).

When the question consists of only one word, the question clitic occurs immediately before the question suffix. The clitic will then have *n* at the end (see examples 106–108; also see 23.1.1).

11.2.1. Who, what. The who/what question word has two variants depending on whether the answer will be human, \tilde{h}^1 , or nonhuman, $Y\tilde{a}^1$. The questions in the following two examples are the same except that one refers to a human and the other to a nonhuman. Therefore, ‘dog’ and ‘arrow’ both use the ‘what’ form.

- (106) Human $\tilde{h}^1-te^2-t\tilde{a}n^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$ $In^3txi^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.
 WHH-NMZ-Q.CLT-Q.CO.PRES man-INDEF-EQUAT-PF
 ‘Who is it? It’s a man’.
- (107) Nonhuman $Y\tilde{a}^1-te^2-t\tilde{a}n^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$ $Wai^3a^3lxi^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.
 WHH-NMZ-Q.CLT-Q.CO.PRES dog-INDEF-EQUAT-PF
 ‘What is it? It’s a dog’.
- (108) Nonhuman $Y\tilde{a}^1-te^2-t\tilde{a}n^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$ $Haut^3ti^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.
 WHH-NMZ-Q.CLT-Q.CO.PRES arrow-INDEF-EQUAT-PF
 ‘What is it? It’s an arrow’.

When a noun response is expected: (1) there will be a shape classifier suffix, as in (111) and (112) (see also 16.1.3) or (2) there will be the nominalizer $-te^2$, as in (106)–(110) and (113) (see also 16.2.2).

When a verbal response is expected, the verb will be included in the question, following the WH word. The response must be the entire clause. The response ‘John’, as used in English, is not permitted.

- (109) $\tilde{h}^1-te^2-tq^3$ $\tilde{t}^3xi^2-\emptyset-lhai^1-la^2?$ $Jo^3a\tilde{u}^2-ah^3la^2$
 WHH-NMZ-Q.CLT come home-3SG-Q.IO.P-PF John-man
 $\tilde{t}^3xi^2-\emptyset-tai^1ti^2tu^3-wa^2$.
 come home-3SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘Who came home yesterday? John came home yesterday’.

When the WH question is a phrase, i.e., ‘whose cloth’ in (110), the question clitic is suffixed to the last word in the phrase.

11.2.2. Whose.

- (110) $\tilde{h}^1-te^2a^2$ $w\tilde{a}^2la^2-ka^3lo^3-tq^3$ $so^1kx-\emptyset-in^1-thai^1-la^2?$
 WHH-NMZ cloth-CL.cloth-Q.CLT take-O.3SG-2SG-Q.IO.P-PF
 $Ma^3ri^2-a^3kax^3l-ai^2na^2$ $w\tilde{a}^2la^2-ka^3lo^2-a^2$
 Mary-woman-DEM cloth-CL.cloth-DEF
 $so^1ki^2-\emptyset-na^1-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 take-O.3SG-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘Whose cloth did you take yesterday? I took Mary’s cloth yesterday’.

11.2.3. Which.

- (111) $\tilde{I}h^1-t\tilde{e}n^1-t\tilde{a}^3$ $wxa^2-ha^3ti^3la^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$ $T\tilde{e}^1n-a^2$
 WHH-CL-Q.CLT POS2-basket-Q CL-DEF
 $txa^2-ha^3ti^3la^2-na^3-la^2$.
 POS1-basket-EQUAT-PF

‘Which is your basket? That one is my basket’.

- (112) $\tilde{I}h^1-th\tilde{in}^1-t\tilde{a}^3$ $wxa^2-sxi^2lha^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$
 WHH-CL-Q.CLT POS2-house-Q

‘Which is your house?’

(See 16.1.3 for list of classifiers.)

11.2.4. Whom.

- (113) $\tilde{I}h^1-te^2la^3-t\tilde{a}^3$ $\tilde{u}^3h\tilde{u}^1-ain^1-\emptyset-te^3l-a^1-ji^1-wa^2?$
 WHH-NMZ-Q.CLT give-3PL-O.3SG-AUX.IMM-ISG-Q-IMPF

‘To whom do you want me to give it?’

11.2.5. Where. When asking questions of where, when, how, how many, why, and what purpose, only the ‘human’ form $\tilde{I}h^1$ is used.

- (114) $\tilde{I}h^1-n\tilde{u}^1la^3-t\tilde{a}^3$ $wxa^2-ha^3ti^2a^2$ $yxau^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$
 WHH-place-Q.CLT POS2-basket set-Q

‘Where is your basket?’

11.2.6. When.

- (115) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxe^3h\tilde{r}^1na^2$ $\tilde{r}^3xi^2-te^3l-in^1-ji^1-wa^2?$
 WHH-time come home-AUX.IMM-2SG-Q-IMPF

‘When are you coming home?’

11.2.7. How.

- (116) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxet^3sx\tilde{a}^3$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-te^3-\emptyset-ji^1-wa^2?$
 WHH-manner come-3PL-AUX.IMM-3SG-Q-IMPF

‘How are they coming?’

11.2.8. How many.

- (117) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxe^2$ $in^3ti^3-t\tilde{a}^3$ $ai^3-ain^1-\emptyset-thi^2-la^2?$
 WHH-number man-Q.CLT go-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.REP-PF

‘How many men went today?’

11.2.9. Why.

- (118) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxe^3ha^2kxai^3$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-thi^2-la^2?$
 WHH-CAUS come-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.REP-PF

‘Why did they come today?’ (What caused them to come?)

11.2.10. What purpose.

- (119) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxe^3kxa^2yan^3ti^3-tq^3$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-thi^2-la^2?$
 WHH-PRCAUT-Q.CLT come-3PL-3SG-Q.IO.REP-PF

‘For what purpose did they come?’ (In order to avoid what?)

Two other questions relating to time are used. They seem to be an adaptation necessitated by the introduction of watches and calendars into the Nambikuara culture.

11.2.11. What day.

- (120) $\tilde{I}h^1-nxe^3-ki^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$
 WHH-manner-1+2-Q

‘What day is today?’

11.2.12. What month.

- (121) $\tilde{I}h^1-ti^3xa^2$ $ai^3-ki^3-te^2la^1x\tilde{a}^3?$
 WHH-place go-1+2-Q

‘What month are we in?’ or, by inference, ‘To what place in the moon cycle has the moon gone?’

Any constituent may be questioned. The statement in its entirety may be questioned following the guidelines given previously (see 96–103 above). When any given constituent is questioned, one must follow the guidelines set forth in (106)–(121).

There are no exact equivalents of ‘yes’ and ‘no’. The free form $H\tilde{a}^3x\tilde{a}^2$ can be used to indicate basic agreement with the speaker, but this cannot be used as an affirmation to a specific question. An affirmative response can be either of the following two examples.

- (122) $Wain^3-na^3-la^2$.
 right-EQUAT-PF

‘That’s right’.

- (123) $Wi^1-na^3-la^2$.
 good-EQUAT-PF

‘That’s good’.

The negative phrase mentioned earlier (see 11.1, example 104) can be used as a negative response.

- (124) $Nx\tilde{e}^2-nxa^3-wa^2$.
 PRV-NEG-IMPF

‘Not at all’ or ‘No, it isn’t’.

The clause can be repeated as a declarative response when a negative is inserted. In such instances, nothing preceding the verb need be repeated, unless the lack of it would result in some ambiguity in meaning.

- (125) $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-\emptyset-lhai^1-la^2?$ $Wx\tilde{a}^2-nxa^3-\emptyset-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 John-man come-3SG-Q.IO.P-PF come-NEG-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'Did John come? He didn't come'.

12. Imperatives. The imperative sentences have a complex system of suffixes which vary with each type of imperative. These replace the person, tense/evidential suffixes, and, in some cases, the aspect suffixes of the indicative verb forms. Ten types of imperative suffixes are distinguished in this language. The first six are positive types and have the person markers embedded in the suffix. The last four are negative types and have person markers that precede the imperative suffix. A great deal of elision takes place. The morphophonemic rules on which these changes are based are found in 25.7 below.

Person and number combinations differ from speaker to addressee. For the speaker, they are either singular or plural. For the addressee, they are singular, dual, or plural.

The forms given are the suffixes that follow the verb stem. The three columns are singular, dual, and plural addressees, respectively. The rows are singular and plural speakers.

12.1. Permissive imperative: 'you may...'. This is used when the speaker says he will do something, and the addressee says he may do it.

$-txu^1la^2$ $-jxa^1hu^1la^2$ $-jxah^1lxu^1la^2$
 $-txa^2s\tilde{t}^1nu^1la^2$ $-jxa^1s\tilde{t}^1nu^1la^2$ $-jxah^1lxi^3s\tilde{t}^1nu^1la^2$

- (126) $\tilde{I}^3xi^2-s\tilde{t}n^1-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.
 come home-PL-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
 $\tilde{I}^3xi^2-jxa^1-s\tilde{t}^1n-u^1-la^2$.
 ($txa^2+ya^3=jxa^1$)
 come home-IMP.2DU-1PL-PIMP-PF
 'We want to come home'. 'You two may come home'.

12.2. Weak imperative: 'do it sometime...'. A weak imperative does not need to be executed with urgency.

$-txa^2h\tilde{e}^3la^2$ $-jxa^1h\tilde{e}^1la^2$ $-jxah^1lxi^3h\tilde{e}^1la^2$
 $-txa^2s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$ $-jxa^1s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$ $-jxah^1lxi^3s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$

(See 19.3.4.2 for a variant in this group.)

(127) $\tilde{I}^3xi^2-jxa^1-s\tilde{t}^1n-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.

come home-(IMP.2DU)-1PL-WIMP-PF

‘You two may come home sometime’.

12.3. Strong imperative: ‘do it immediately. . .’. A strong imperative must be executed immediately.

$-tu^3wxa^2$

$-jah^1wxa^2$

$-jah^1lxi^3wxa^2$

$-ta^2si^1lxa^2$

$-ja^1si^1lxa^2$

$-jah^1lxi^3si^1lxa^2$

(128) $\tilde{I}^3xi^2-ja^3-si^1lxa^2$.

$(ta^2+ya^3=ja^1)$

come home-SIMP.2DU-SIMP

‘You two come home immediately!’

12.4. Weak hortative: ‘let’s do it sometime. . .’. A weak hortative does not have to be done right away.

$-ya^3sa^3h\tilde{e}^1la^2$

$-ya^3sa^1h\tilde{e}^1la^2$

$-ya^3sah^1lxi^3h\tilde{e}^1la^2$

$-ya^3sa^2s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$

$-ya^3sa^1s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$

$-ya^3sah^1lxi^3s\tilde{t}^1nh\tilde{e}^3la^2$

(129) $\tilde{I}^3-ya^3-sa^1-s\tilde{t}^1n-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.

$(sa^2+ya^3=sa^1)$

go home-WHRT-1SG.2DU-WHRT-PF

‘Let’s go home sometime!’

12.5. Strong hortatory: ‘let’s do it immediately. . .’. A strong hortative must be done right away.

$-ya^3sa^3wa^2$

$-ya^3sah^1wxa^2$

$-ya^3sah^1lxi^3wxa^2$

$-ya^3sa^2si^1lxa^2$

$-ya^3sa^1si^1lxa^2$

$-ya^3sah^1lxi^3si^1lxa^2$

(130) $\tilde{I}^3-ya^3-sa^1-si^1lxa^2$.

$(sa^2+ya^3=sa^1)$

go home-SHRT-1SG.2DU-SHRT

‘Let’s both go home immediately!’

12.6. Warning imperative: ‘you would be advised to. . .’. This is a warning but it does not indicate urgency.

$-txa^2sa^3ka^1$

$-jxa^1sa^3ka^1$

$-jxah^1lxi^3sa^3ka^1$

$-txa^2s\tilde{t}n^1sa^3ka^1$

$-jxa^1s\tilde{t}n^1sa^3ka^1$

$-jxah^1lxi^3s\tilde{t}n^1sa^3ka^1$

(131) $Ka^3w\tilde{a}^3lxa^2$ $sa^2sai^1-jxa^1-s\tilde{t}n^1-sa^3ka^1$.

$(txa^2+ya^3=jxa^1)$

river

get out-WRN.2DU-1PL-WRN

‘You two are advised to get out of the river’.

12.7. Prohibition: ‘don’t. . .’. This is a prohibition but not stated as being urgent.

-txa³hē¹la² -ya³txa³hē¹la² -yah³lxi³txa³hē¹la²
 -sīn¹txa³hē¹la² -ya³sīn¹txa³hē¹la² -yah³lxi³sīn¹txa³hē¹la²

- (132) *Ĥ³xi²-ya³-sīn¹-txa³hē¹-la².*
 come home-2DU-1PL-PRH-PF
 ‘Don’t you two come home!’

12.8. Cessation imperative: ‘stop immediately. . .’. This demands immediate cessation of the activity.

-tq³lxa² -ya³tq³lxa² -yah³lxi³tq³lxa²
 -sīn¹tq³lxa² -ya³sīn¹tq³lxa² -yah³lxi³sīn¹tq³lxa²

- (133) *Ho³xi²-ya³-sīn¹-tq³lxa².*
 bathe-2DU-1PL-CIMP
 ‘You two stop bathing immediately!’

12.9. Weak hortative of cessation: ‘let’s stop sometime. . .’. A weak hortative of cessation does not require immediate response.

-ya³sa²txa³hē¹la² -ya³sa¹txa³hē¹la²
 -ya³sa²sīn¹txa³hē¹la² -ya³sa¹sīn¹txa³hē¹la²
 -ya³sah¹lxi³txa³hē¹la²
 -ya³sah¹lxi³sīn¹txa³hē¹la²

- (134) *Ho³xi²-ya³-sa²-sīn¹-txa³hē¹-la².*
 bathe-WHRTC-1SG.2DU-1PL-WHRTC-PF
 ‘Let’s stop bathing sometime’.

12.10. Strong hortative of cessation: ‘let’s stop immediately. . .’. A strong hortative of cessation requires an immediate response.

-ya³sa²tq³lxa² -ya³sa¹tq³lxa² -ya³sa¹sīn¹tq³lxa²
 -ya³sa²sīn¹tq³lxa² -ya³sa¹sīn¹tq³lxa² -ya³sah¹lxi³sīn¹tq³lxa²

- (135) *Ho³xi²-ya³-sa¹-sīn¹-tq³lxa².*
(sa²+ya³=sa¹)
 bathe-SHRTC-1SG.2DU-1PL-SHRTC
 ‘Let’s stop bathing immediately!’

13. Negation. Sentence negation is expressed by a verbal suffix. Its position is between the person and tense markers. There are two forms of the negative: first person, -nxa³, and non-first person, -xa³. When other

than first person is combined with first person, as in the first inclusive, the non-first-person form is used.

In the first-person form of (136), the person marker and the negative are combined into one syllable. (For elision rules, see 25.7 on morphophonemics.) In (138), the first-person inclusive form is followed by the third-person negative. When a negative is present, two changes occur in verbs of stem class 2. (For a description of verb stem classes, see 19.3.4.) When the negative immediately follows the verb stem, with no other suffixes between, the tone on the final syllable of the stem is perturbed to tone ² and there will be a final *n* added to the stem. (The tone system is described in 25.3.)

- (136) *Kāi³-nxa³-tait¹tu³-wa².*
steal-1SG.NEG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
'I didn't steal it'.
- (137) *Kāi³-xa³-tait¹tu³-wa².*
steal-3SG.NEG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
'He didn't steal it'.
- (138) *Kāi³-kī³s-xa³-tait¹tu³-wa².*
steal-1+2-NEG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
'We (incl.) didn't steal it'.

In the third-person singular negative (139), the stem final *n* will become the initial consonant of the following syllable according to morphophonemic rules (see 25.7, rule 16). The tone number must then be moved to precede the *n*.

In (139), the verb belongs to verb stem class 1, which does not perturb tone nor add *n* to the end of the verb stem (see 19.3.4).

In (139)–(144), all examples are T/E.IO.PRES.IMPF/PE. This is omitted from the glosses in order to show the contrasts between first- and third-person negative more clearly.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (139) <i>Īnxūn³-na¹-wa².</i> | <i>Īnxūn³-∅-na³-la².</i> |
| smell-1SG | smell-3SG |
| 'I smell it'. | 'He smells it'. |
| <i>Īnxūn³-nxa³-wa².</i> | <i>Īnxū³n-xa³-wa².</i> |
| smell-1SG.NEG | smell-3SG.NEG |
| 'I don't smell it'. | 'He doesn't smell it'. |

The verbs in (140)–(142) belong to verb stem class 2, which both perturbs tone and adds *n* (see 19.3.4.2).

- (140) *Ka³la³-na¹-wa².* *Ka³la²-∅-na³-la².*
 go up-1SG go up-3SG
 'I go up'. 'He goes up'.
- Ka³lan²-nxa³-wa².* *Ka³la²n-∅-xa³-wa².*
 go up-1SG.NEG go up-3SG.NEG
 'I don't go up'. 'He doesn't goes up'.
- (141) *Ī³nā²-na¹-wa².* *Ī³nā²-∅-na³-la².*
 drink-1SG drink-3SG
 'I drink'. 'He drinks'.
- Ī³nān²-nxa³-wa².* *Ī³nā²n-∅-xa³-wa².*
 drink-1SG.NEG drink-3SG.NEG
 'I don't drink'. 'He doesn't drink'.
- (142) *So¹-na¹-wa².* *So²-∅-na³-la².*
 take-1SG take-3SG
 'I take it'. 'He takes it'.
- Son²-nxa³-wa².* *So²n-∅-xa³-wa².*
 take-1SG.NEG take-3SG.NEG
 'I don't take it'. 'He doesn't take it'.

In transitive sentences, the negative clitic *-la³* is attached to the object, as in (144). The negative clitic in effect replaces the ART suffix (see 23.1.2). The verb of that sentence must include the sentence negative between the person and T/E suffixes.

- (143) *Hu³kx-a²* *yū³n-a¹-wa².*
 bow-DEF own-1SG-IMPF
 'I have a bow'.
- (144) *Hu³ki³-la²* *yūn²-nxa³-wa².*
 bow-N.CLT own-1SG.NEG-IMPF
 'I don't have a bow'.

In nominalizations, the sentence negative is inserted before the nominalizer.

- (145) *Hu³kx-a²* *so¹kx-ain¹-∅-kxe³su².*
 bow-DEF take-3PL-3SG-NMZ
 'The matter of their taking the bow. . . '.
- (146) *Hu³ki-la³* *so¹kx-ai¹n-∅-xa³-kxe³su².*
 bow-N.CLT take-3PL-3SG-NEG-NMZ

‘The matter of their not taking the bow. . .’.

Descriptives, equationals, and adjectives are negated like verbs.

- (147) *Kāin²-na³-la²*. positive
big-EQUAT-PF
‘It’s big’.

- (148) *Kāi²n-xa³-wa²*. negative
big-neg.EQUAT-IMPF
‘It’s not big’.

It is normal for the negative to occur in the clause over which its scope extends. However, if the subordinate clauses are closely connected to the main clause, the verb in the subordinate clause does not need to have a negative. Object nouns will be negated. (For the change in the negative clitic, see 25.7, rules 3 and 12).

- (149) *Hu³kxēn¹-ta³* *hu³kih³-nū²la²* *kax³yuh³-la³* *an³-sxā³*
gun-N.CLT shoot-DSQ game-N.CLT kill-IMSQ
ĩ²-te²-txā³-wa².
eat-IC-NEG-IMPF
‘I didn’t have a gun to kill and eat game’.

14. Anaphora. Various means are used to refer to something previously mentioned:

1. Shape classifiers in nouns are attached to most nouns. In later mention of the same noun, only the shape classifier need be used (see 16.1.3).
2. The ‘man’ and ‘woman’ classifiers occur as noun suffixes with proper names. Often only the classifiers are used after the first occurrence.
3. Noun suffixes indicate that the person/animal/object has already been mentioned (see 16.1.6).
4. Person markers occur in the verb suffix system (see 19.1.6, 19.1.8).
5. Reflexive and reciprocal morphemes are used in conjunction with the person markers in the verb suffixes (see 5).
6. Pro-verbs can replace the verb in some instances (see 19.3.5).
7. In coordinate verb constructions, the person and tense/evidential suffixes are replaced with the cataphoric marker *-i²* (see 9, example 76).

When the subordinate and the main clauses have the same person and tense markers, they are omitted in the subordinate clauses, except where necessary to avoid ambiguity. The markers will be found in the main clause which follows the final subordinate clause in the same sentence. There can

be more than one subordinate clause following this pattern in the same sentence.

- (150) $An^3-sx\tilde{a}^3$ $\tilde{t}^2-n\tilde{u}^2la^2$ $\tilde{t}^3x-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
kill-and eat-DSQ come home-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘Having killed and eaten, they came home’.

Between sentences, there are a number of possible anaphoric forms. Nouns are not repeated after their first occurrence in the section unless there would be an ambiguity if not overtly marked. Person markers are part of every independent verb suffix irrespective of the occurrence of the free form nouns.

- (151) $In^3txi^3-n\tilde{a}u^3xa^2$ $\tilde{t}^3x-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
men-group come home-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 $\tilde{t}^3x-ain^1-\emptyset-n\tilde{u}^2la^2$ $wa^3ko^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
Come home-3PL-3SG-DSQ work-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘The men came home. Having come home, they worked’.

It is important to remember that the third-person singular is the unmarked form. The pro-forms for ‘man’, $-jah^1la^2$, and ‘woman’, $-ta^1ka^3lxa^2$, will be used instead of any proper names that have already been mentioned. Variants of these forms are part of the list of noun classifiers in 16.1.3. All nouns, including proper names, can be repeated if the anaphoric referent suffix is present.

- (152) $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. $\tilde{A}^2-nxe^3-jah^1la^2 \dots$
John-man come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF Again-PRV-man . . .

‘John came. He . . .’

Pro-verbs may be used if there is no change in the action.

- (153) $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$ $kwhi^1txa^2$ $\tilde{a}^3nan^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. $Nxe^3-ka^3t\tilde{u}^3$
John-man deer kill-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF PRV-NSQ
 $a^2-hu^3kxa^2$ $\tilde{u}^3kqx^3t-\emptyset-\tilde{a}^2h\tilde{e}^3la^2$.
POS3-gun oil-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John killed a deer. After that he oiled his gun’.

Other anaphoric referent suffixes are $-kxan^2ta^2$ ‘returning to the main topic that was previously discussed’ (see 10.5) and $-nu^1ta^2kxai^3lu^2$ ‘noun already given earlier in the text’ (see 10.1.3, example 87).

15. Subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses always precede the main clause. They are nonfinite in that tense and aspect suffixes are always missing.

- (154) *Wa³ko³n-ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la²* main clause
work-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'They worked yesterday'.
- (155) *Wa³ko³n-ain¹-∅-kxai²nān²tu³* subordinate clause
work-3PL-3SG-HPROB
'If they worked'

Some subordinate clauses do not always mark for person.

- (156) *Wau²ka³lo³a²* *tē³-sxā³* *wxā³-na¹-tu¹-wa²*.
hoe take-IMSQ come-1SG-F-IMPF
'Picking up and bringing the hoe, I will come'.

The above example is ambivalent in that the subordinate clause does not take person markers when it is in a close relationship with the main verb. When it does mark person, there is a short pause after the dependent clause ending *-sxā³*, after which the intonation pattern continues normally.

- (157) *Wau²ka³lo³a²* *tē³-ain¹-∅-sxā³* *wxā³-ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
hoe take-3PL-3SG-IMSQ come-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'Picking up and bringing the hoe, they came'.

15.1. Categories. There are three main categories of subordinate clauses based on their different grammatical functions: adverbial, complement (those that function as subject or object of a main clause), and relative (noun modifier).

- (158) *Kax³yuh³xa²* *tē²-na¹-ka³tu³* *āu³xi²-na¹-hē³-la²*.
meat eat-1SG-SEQ sleep-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'After I ate the meat, I slept'.
- (159) *ī³x-ain¹-∅-jū³ta²* *kō³nx-ain¹-nxa³-hē¹-la²*.
come home-3PL-3SG-STAT know-3PL-1SG.NEG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'I didn't know about their coming home'.
- (160) *Wa³li³nxa²* *ūh³wxet³-sxā³* *sa²tq³-ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la²*.
manioc grate-IMSQ set aside-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
'Grating the manioc, they set it aside'.

15.1.1. Adverbial. Adverbial can be further subdivided into adversative, sequential, and logical.

15.1.1.1. Adversative. Adversative consists of the suffixes *-nxa²ha¹te¹* 'attention switch', *-ta¹* 'contrast', and *-to³ta¹* 'contra-expectation'.

15.1.1.2. Sequential. Sequential consists of the suffixes $-ka^3tu^3$ ‘normal sequence’, $-te^2ka^3ka^1$ ‘expected climactic sequence’, $-te^2i^3$ ‘contra-expected climactic sequence’, and $-ti^3kxai^3lu^2$ ‘concomitant’.

15.1.1.3. Logical. Logical consists of the suffixes $-kxai^2nān^2tu^3$ ‘high probability’, $-ke^3la^3te^2kxai^3$ ‘low probability’, $-kxa^2ha^3tq^3nxān^2tu^3$ ‘concessional’, and $-kxa^2yqn^3txi^3su^2$ ‘precautionary’.

15.1.2. Complement. Complement consists of suffixes that function as subject or object of a main clause. They are $-jut^3su^2$ ‘static’, $-jaw^3su^2$ ‘thought’, and $-kxe^3su^2$ ‘global’.

15.1.3. Relative. Relative consists of suffixes that function as noun modifiers. It is subdivided into nonpersonal, climactic, and dynamic.

15.1.3.1. Nonpersonal. Nonpersonal consists of $-sxā^3$ ‘immediate sequence’ and $-nū^2la^2$ ‘delayed sequence’. $-sxā^3$ can have the function of a present participle. Nonpersonal suffixes are action focused and usually not marked for person.

15.1.3.2. Climactic. Climactic consists of the suffixes $-te^3na^1$ ‘immediate response’ and $-na^3na^1$ ‘delayed response’. These are always marked for person. In delayed response, the word $hā^2wxān^3txa^3$ ‘later’ will often follow the subordinate clause ending.

15.1.3.3. Dynamic. Dynamic consists of the suffixes $-ha^2kxai^3$ ‘causal’ and $-kxa^2yu^3su^2$ ‘additional’. These forms also function as connectives between clauses when the pro-verb nxe^3 ‘thus’ is prefixed.

There is a limited use of the infinitive for certain expressions. In (161), the auxiliary of imminence is used to express what would be an infinitive in English. In (162), a static complement is used for the same purpose (see also 19.1.10).

(161) $Ai^3-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

go-AUX.IMM-1SG.T/E.IO.PRES-IMPF

‘I want to go’.

(162) $Ai^3-∅-ju^3ta^3-nū^3-a^2$ $ten^3-sa^3-nha^2-wa^2$.

go-3SG-STAT-TF.F-IMPF want-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I want him to go’.

Subordinate clauses can be strung together without observable restrictions. However, if there is a change of subject, the new subject must be expressed overtly.

A new participant is brought in by a double mention. In the following example, the spirit-women have just drunk all the manioc juice that the man’s estranged wife had made. Now the mother of the man is introduced in the middle of the sentence. She is introduced as (1) the mother and (2) the young man’s mother. Then the old woman’s thoughts are quoted.

- (163) *Nxe³-sxã³ ã³-nũ²la² yxau³t-an¹jau³kxai³la¹*
 PRV-IMSQ finish-DSQ remain-THOT
a²-hã³ka³nũ²su² sax³ne³la³ku³-nũ¹tai²na² a²-hã³ka³nũ²su²
 POS3-mother young man-TF.RP POS3-mother
te²kxai³la¹ a²-ẽ¹nãn¹jau³kxai³la¹ (- - - - -)
 ACTSP POS3-QOP.THOT quote of thoughts
a³ka³lxu³-nũ¹ta² ã³-ẽ¹nãn¹jau³kxai³
 women-TF.RP POS3-thoughts
ĩ³ka³li³nha²-Ø-ta¹hxai²hẽ¹-la².
 happy-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF

‘When they finished (drinking the manioc juice), the man’s mother thought to herself: “(here follows a quote of her thoughts).” Thus she thought contentedly’.

15.2. Indirect discourse. Indirect discourse is grammatically possible but rarely used. The normal preference is direct discourse; or there will be a transform on the main verb to the evidential suffixes in the narration orientation (see 19.1.12.2). In the first example, the suffix *-ju³ta²* ‘static’ is used on the nominalization. In the second, *-jen³* is used to refer to a ‘place’. In the following three examples, the gloss ‘future’ refers to something future to the time when the words were spoken.

- (164) *Ai³-na¹-ju³ta³-nũ³a² e³ki¹-nxa²-ha¹-hẽ³-la².*
 go-1SG-STAT-future tell-O.2SG-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I said I would go’.
- (165) *Ai³-na¹-jen³-nũ³a² ĩ³ye³ki¹-nxa²-ha¹-tait¹tu³-wa².*
 go-1SG-place-future tell-O.2SG-1SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
 ‘I told you where I was going’.
- (166) *Ai³-nĩn¹-ju³ta³-nũ³a² kwa³na³-nxa²-Ø-tait¹tu³-wa².*
 go-2SG-STAT-future tell-O.2SG-1SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
 ‘He told you to go’.

15.3. Direct quotation. Direct quotation is not really a part of the subordinate clause system. It consists of clauses, main or subordinate, that are embedded in a quotative main clause sequence.

Direct quotations have three parts: quote opener, quotation, and quote closer. Quote closers do not always occur.

15.3.1. Quote opener. Quote openers always occur. However, certain connectives are used in some instances when there is a dialogue between two persons. In such cases, *nxe³ha²kxai³* ‘logical sequence’ or *nxa²ha¹te¹*

‘attention switch’ may be used. The normal pattern for a quote opener is a variant of the following: $e^3te^3nah^1lxi^1$ ‘he spoke like this’.

15.3.2. Quote. The quote is marked by a direct speech clitic $-i^1$ suffixed to each main clause after the aspect suffix. There is vowel elision so that the final suffix changes from $-wa^2i^1$ to $-wi^1$ or $-la^2i^1$ to $-li^1$, etc. (see morphophonemics in 25.7, rule 10).

- (167) $Jo^3\tilde{a}u^2-ah^3la^2$ $e^3ki^2-sa^3-\emptyset-te^3nah^1lxi^1$: $Ka^3nxa^3ha^2ta^2$
 John-man say-O.1SG-3SG-QOP tomorrow
 $wx\tilde{a}^3-na^1-tu^1-wi^1$. $Nxe^3-sa^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 come-1SG-F-DS.CLT PRV-O.1SG-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘John said to me: “I’ll come tomorrow.” He said to me’.

15.3.3. Quote closer. Quote closers usually identify the participants in the dialogue with appropriate person markers.

- (168) $Nxe^3-s-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 PRV-O.1SG-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They said to me’.

The direct quotation equivalents of indirect quotation examples (164) and (166) are as follows:

- (169) $Nxe^3-na^1-te^3nah^1lxi^1$: $Ai^3-na^1-tu^1-wi^1$. $Nxe^3-na^1-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 PRV-1SG-QOP go-1SG-F-DS.CLT PRV-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘I said: “I will go.” Thus I said’.

- (170) $Nxe^3-\emptyset-nxa^2-te^3nah^1lxi^1$: $Wxai^2na^2$ $ai^3-s\tilde{e}^1-li^1$
 PRV-3SG-O.2SG-QOP You go-WIMP-DS.CLT
 $Nxe^3-\emptyset-nxa^2-tait^1tu^3-wa^2$.
 PRV-3SG-O.2SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘Thus he said to you: “You go.” Thus he said to you’.

(For the WIMP suffix in this example, see 19.3.4.2.)

15.4. Pensive quotation. A pensive quotation is a variant of the direct quotation. It is a quotation of someone’s thoughts, usually the speaker’s, but it can be someone else’s. The originator of the thoughts is identified in the pensive quote closer.

There are two parts: the pensive quote and the pensive quote closer.

15.4.1. Pensive quote. The pensive quote is identical to the normal declarative statement up to the aspect suffix. At that point, three changes must occur:

1. In the aspect suffix, all pensive quotes assume the form used for a feminine addressee irrespective of the gender of the addressee.

2. The vowel of the aspect suffix becomes nasalized.
3. The tone ² of the aspect suffix changes to tone ¹.
 $-wa^2$ becomes $-x\tilde{a}^1$
 $-la^2$ becomes $-n\tilde{a}^1$

15.4.2. Pensive quote closer. A pensive quote closer is made up of the separate word-suffix. It contains only the person and tense/evidential suffixes of a stative independent clause.

- (171) $Wx\tilde{a}^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. statement
 come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He came’.

$Wx\tilde{a}^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-n\tilde{a}^1$. $Na^1-h\tilde{e}^1-la^2$. pensive
 come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PNS 1SG-INTERN.P-PF
 ‘I thought he had come’.

- (172) $Wx\tilde{a}^3-te^3-\emptyset-ji^1-wa^2?$ question
 come-AUX.IMM-3SG-Q.IO.PRES-IMPF
 ‘Will he come?’

$Wx\tilde{a}^3-te^3-\emptyset-ji^1-x\tilde{a}^1$. $Na^1-nha^2-wa^2$. pensive
 come-AUX.IMM-3SG-Q-PNS 1SG-INTERN-IMPF
 ‘I think he wants to come’.

- (173) $Wa^3kon^3-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$. statement
 work-3SG-F-IMPF
 ‘He will work’.

$Wa^3kon^3-\emptyset-tu^1-x\tilde{a}^1$. $Ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. pensive
 work-3SG-F-PNS 3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘They thought he would work’.

15.4.3. Other pensive that require closers. There are other pensive suffixes in this category. The following ones differ in that they do not have tense/evidential markers: $-nxa^2hxah^3ni^2$ ‘contrary to thought’, $-txa^2n\tilde{a}n^3khi^3$ ‘foreboding’, $-t\tilde{u}^1x\tilde{u}^3$ ‘intention frustrated’, $-te^2la^1ku^2$ ‘indecisive’.

- (174) $Kwhi^1ta^2$ $a^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-nxa^2hxah^3ni^2$ $na^1-h\tilde{e}^1-la^2$.
 deer kill-3PL-3SG-PNS.conf 1SG-EQUAT.P-PF
 ‘I thought they would kill a deer (but they didn’t)’.

- (175) $Wai^3a^3lxa^2$ $a^3n-ain^1-\emptyset-txa^2n\tilde{a}n^3khi^3$ $na^1-h\tilde{e}^1-la^2$.
 dog kill-3PL-3SG-PNS.fore 1SG-INTERN.P-PF
 ‘I was afraid they had killed a dog’.

- (176) *Kwhi¹ta²* *a³n-ain¹-∅-tū¹xū³* *ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la².*
 deer kill-3PL-3SG-PNS.frus 3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They intended to kill a deer (but they didn’t)’.

- (177) *Kwhi¹ta²* *a³n-ain¹-∅-te²la¹ku²* *ain¹-∅-na²hē³-la².*
 deer kill-3PL-3SG-PNS.indec 3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

‘They didn’t know if they had killed a deer or not’.

15.4.4. Other pensive without closers. There are some pensive suffixes which do not require pensive quote closers: *-wi³* ‘urgent plea’, *-kī¹* ‘strong desire’, *-sa³kūx¹* ‘angry frustration’.

- (178) *Wxa²-sxi²h-ai²li²* *txa²-yen³kx-a²* *ū³ha¹-a¹-tu¹-wi³.*
 POS2-house-DEM POS1-things-DEF put-1SG-F-PNS.up

‘I beg you to let me put my things in your house’.

- (179) *Yu³lx-ai²li²* *so¹ki²-na¹-tu¹-kī¹.*
 knife-DEM take-1SG-F-PNS.sd

‘I really want to buy that knife’.

- (180) *Yen³kx-a²* *so¹ā³-ki²s-ain¹-∅-sa³kūx¹.*
 things-DEF take-BN-O.1SG-3PL-3SG-PNS.af

‘They took my things from me and I’m angry about it’.

Syntax of phrase types.

16. Nouns.

16.1. Overview. Noun morphology is much less complicated than verb morphology. The full representation of the noun word, which includes the stem and its affixes, is as follows:

+/- POS + N +/- CL +/- GR +/- CE +/- TF +/- DEM +/- N.CLT +/- ART

16.1.1. Possessive prefix. Possessive prefixes are optional in some cases and obligatory in others. There is a fixed order for the possessor and possessed item. The possessed is always marked by a possessor prefix.

- (181) *a²-hxi²kx-a²*
 POS3-hand-DEF

‘his hand’

- (182) *in³txa²* *a²hxi²kx-a²*
 man POS3-hand-DEF

‘the man’s hand’

Only four forms occur. Dual and plural forms do not occur in this set.

txa^2-	first person
wxa^2-	second person
a^2-	third person
$txa^2w\tilde{a}^1-$	first + second person

Possession of speaker: txa^2-

(183) $Txa^2-hu^3ki^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.

POS1-bow-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s my bow’.

Possession of addressee: wxa^2-

(184) $Wxa^2-hu^3ki^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.

POS2-bow-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s your bow’.

Possession of someone who is neither speaker nor addressee: a^2-

(185) $A^2-hu^3ki^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.

POS3-bow-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s his bow’.

Possession of both speaker and addressee: $txa^2w\tilde{a}^1-$

(186) $Txa^2w\tilde{a}^1-hu^3ki^3-su^2-na^3-la^2$.

POS1+2-bow-INDEF-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s our (inc.) bow’.

Certain nouns are inalienably possessed, such as body parts. Others are optionally possessed at the speaker’s discretion, such as ‘house’ or ‘arrow’. Other suffixes occur on possessed nouns but have no bearing on the possessive prefixes. These are described later in this section.

16.1.2. Noun stems. Noun stems form the nucleus of the noun word. Other stems can be nominalized to form the nucleus (see 16.2).

Case markings are not distinguished morphologically. There is no difference between subject and object forms, or between transitive and intransitive subjects. In nonverbal clauses, minor differences occur because the equative and descriptive endings are attached to the nouns. Word order is the principle distinguishing feature (see 2). However, when a nonverbal clause or a transitive clause is negative, a negative clitic is suffixed to the object (see 23.1.2).

16.1.3. Classifier suffix. Classifiers occur on many nouns to indicate some aspect of the shape of the noun from the Namabikuara point of view. The list is given below. The last three in the list function differently. $-ah^3lo^2$ and $-a^3ka^3lxi^3$ are used only with proper names. $-te^2$ is used with an unspecified person or thing.

-ēn ¹	hollow cavity
-kat ³	long, solid, and cylindrical
-ki ³	small and round, small fruit
-nũx ³	powder, dust, or granules
-nxānx ³	leaf, paper
-thox ³	ashes
-yen ³	circular, flat (also for village area, or face)
-ēh ¹	string, vine
-ka ³ lo ³	cloth (also for the wing of an airplane)
-yau ³	liquid
-nāu ³	open area
-nāux ³	egg-shaped
-thĩn ³	village, houses
-nxq̄x ³	closed receptacle, fruit, sphere
-tĩh ³ no ²	trail, string
-ah ³ lo ²	man
-a ³ ka ³ lxi ³	woman
-te ²	person or thing not specified

Classifiers will always be followed by the article.

- (187) *Hi³sa³-kat³-ta² tau³-a¹-hē³-la².*
 tree-CL.long-DEF cut down-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I cut down the tree’.

- (188) *hi³sa³-kat³-su²*
 tree-CL.long-INDEF
 ‘a tree’

Classifiers function as nominalizers, as in the following example taken from the myth, “The Anteater’s Box.”

- (189) *kax³nah³t-ēn¹-su²*
 night-CL.hollow-INDEF
 ‘night box’

Classifiers function as deverbal nominalizers.

- (190) *so¹x-ain¹-∅-nũ³x-a²*
 get-3PL-3SG-CL.powder-DEF
 ‘the powder that they got’

16.1.4. Group suffix. Noun plural is indicated by -nāux³ ‘group’.

- (191) *in³-jxah³l-a²*
 man-CL.man-DEF
 ‘the man’

in³-jxah³lo²-nãu³x-a²

man-CL.man-GR-DEF

‘the men’

(192) *txa²-hu³kx-a²*

POS1-bow-DEF

‘my bow’

txa²-hu³ki³-nãu³x-a²

POS1-bow-GR-DEF

‘my bows’

16.1.5. Certainty emphasizer suffix. Certainty emphasizer asserts something about the inherent quality of the noun.

(193) *txa²-hu³kx-a²*

POS1-bow-DEF

‘my bow’

txa²-hu³ki³-khai³x-a²

POS1-bow-CE-DEF

‘my real bow’

(194) *Wai³a³lxi³-su²-khai³x-ai²la¹-wa².*

dog-INDEF-CE-EQUAT-IMPF

‘It’s really a dog’.

(195) *Txa²-wai³a³lxi³-khai³x-ai²la¹-wa².*

POS1-dog-CE-EQUAT-IMPF

‘It’s really my dog’.

16.1.6. Time frame suffix. Nouns may indicate to what point in time one is referring with regard to that particular noun. This is a point of reference that both speaker and hearer know about. It is, therefore, given information. Suffixes indicate:

Remote—predates the speaker’s life

Past—any time in the past during the speaker’s lifetime but before today

Recent—any past time today

Present—now in progress (unmarked)

Future—any time not yet begun

Future will always be new information to both speaker and hearer. Although these time categories parallel the tense system of the verb, they do not always refer to the same point in time as the verb.

- (196) $wxa^2-hu^3kx-ai^3ta^3li^2$
 POS2-bow-TF.P
 'your bow (that you had in the past)'
- (197) $hu^3ki^3-nu^1ta^2kxai^3lu^2$
 bow-remote
 $hu^3kx-ai^3ta^3li^2$
 bow-past
 $hu^3kx-in^3ti^3$
 bow-recent
 hu^3kx-a^2
 bow-present
 $hu^3ki^3-nũ^3a^2$
 bow-future

16.1.7. Article suffix. The article suffix indicates a degree of definiteness, or indefiniteness, in the mind of the speaker.

- (198) $hu^3ki^3-su^2$
 bow-INDEF
 'a bow'
- (199) hu^3kx-a^2
 bow-DEF
 $(hu^3ki^3+a^2=hu^3kxa^2)$; see 25.7, rule 10)
 'the bow'

16.1.8. Demonstrative suffix. The demonstrative suffix specifies a certain object and takes the place of the article suffix (see 10.2).

- (200) hu^3kx-a^2
 bow-DEF
 'the bow'
 $hu^3kx-ai^2li^2$
 bow-DEM
 'that bow'
- (201) $yen^3kx-ai^2li^2$
 thing-DEM
 'that thing'

- (202) *yen³kx-ai²na²* *sa²kxai³lu²*
 thing-DEM NSP
 ‘that very thing’

16.2. Nominalizations. There are action, agentive, and adverbial nominalizations. Similar to the structure of subordinate clauses, neither tense nor aspect occur. They are part of the main clause, but if they are too long or too complex, a pronoun or a pro-verb may be used in the main clause.

16.2.1. Action nominalizations.

- (203) *wxã³-na¹-ju³ta²* intransitive
 come-1SG-NMZ
 ‘my coming’
- (204) *qi³kxa²* *hxi²so¹-na¹-ju³ta²* transitive
 bird catch-1SG-NMZ
 ‘my catching a bird’

16.2.2. Agentive nominalizations.

- (205) *wxã³-ain¹-Ø-te²a²* intransitive
 come-3PL-3SG-NMZ
 ‘the ones coming’
- (206) *hai³sxa²* *tau³-Ø-te²a²* transitive
 field cut-3SG-NMZ
 ‘the one cutting the field’

16.2.3. Adverbial nominalizations.

- (207) *wxã³-ain¹-Ø-tãu³a²*
 come-3PL-3SG-ADVZ.when
 ‘when they come’
- (208) *ai³-ain¹-Ø-je³na²*
 go-3PL-3SG-ADVZ.where
 ‘where they go’

16.3. Modifiers. Multiple modifiers occur in noun phrases. The shape classifier is omitted from the noun and placed on the last modifier, as illustrated in the following examples. A connector *-ta²* is suffixed to the first modifier, indicating that the phrase is not completed.

- (209) *wã²la²* *wi³-win³-ta²* *he³-hen³-ka³lo³-a²*
 cloth blue-RDUP-PCN red-RDUP-CL.cloth-DEF
 ‘the blue and red cloth’

- (210) in^3txa^2 $kāin^2-ta^2$ $ũn^3-jah^1l-a^2$
 man big-PCN wild-man-DEF
 ‘the big wild man’

The basic structure of the noun phrase parallels the structure of the relative clauses. The relative clauses will contain verbal stems whereas noun modifiers will contain adjectival stems.

16.3.1. Adjectives. In adjectives, the modifier will have a descriptive stem followed by a classifier suffix which relates back to the head of the phrase.

- (211) in^3txa^2 $kāin^2-jah^1l-a^2$ ($lo^2+a^2=la^2$)
 man big-CL.man-DEF
 ‘the big man’

- (212) $wai^3a^3lxa^3$ $ũn^3-te^2-a^2$
 dog wild-CL.person-DEF
 ‘the wild dog’

- (213) hu^3kxa^2 $tĩ^3-kat^3t-a^2$
 bow old-CL.long-DEF
 ‘the old gun’

16.3.2. Relative clauses. Relative clauses are expressed in the same way regardless of the location in the sentence. Headless relative clauses do not occur if previous context is included. Sometimes the head is overtly mentioned, and sometimes it is a reference made by means of a gesture to someone/something not spoken (see 9, examples 73–75, 79, and 80).

Main clause S:

- (214) In^3txa^2 $ā^2wait^3-tē^3-jah^1l-a^2$ $kāi^3ki^2-ne^3-∅-na^2hē^3-la^2$.
 man leave-1+2-CL.man-DEF steal-1+2-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘The man who left us stole it from us’.

Main clause O:

- (215) In^3txa^2 yen^3kxa^2 $kāi^3ki^2-ne^3-jah^1l-a^2$ $tĩ^2-a^1-hē^3-la^2$.
 man thing steal-1+2-CL.man-DEF see-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I saw the man who stole it from us’.

Relative clause S:

- (216) In^3txa^2 $kāi^3ki^2-ne^3-jah^1l-a^2$ $wq^3lxi^2-∅-na^2hē^3-la^2$.
 man steal-1+2-CL.man-DEF return-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘The man who stole from us returned’.

Relative clause O:

- (217) *In³txa² wah³nxe³kx-Ø-in¹jah¹l-a² i²-Ø-a¹-hẽ³-la².*
 man wait-for-3SG-2SG-CL.man-DEF see-O.3SG-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I saw the man you were waiting for’.

16.3.3. Numerals. Numerals follow the noun they modify. There are only three numerals: one, two, and many. To express three, two and one are used. The numeral four is two and two, etc. (see also 16.3.4).

- | | |
|--|---------|
| <i>ka³na³ki¹</i> | ‘one’ |
| <i>ha¹li¹</i> | ‘two’ |
| <i>ha¹li¹ ka³na³ki¹</i> | ‘three’ |
| <i>ha¹li¹ ha¹li¹</i> | ‘four’ |
| <i>kax³la²-na³la²</i> | ‘many’ |
| many-there are | |

When the numerals are part of a noun phrase, the appropriate shape classifier must be used as a noun suffix.

In the following examples, a noun is given first, followed by an example containing a numeral. When numbers are part of a noun phrase, the classifier is sometimes omitted from the noun but never from the numeral.

- (218) *hu³kx-a²*
 bow-DEF
 ‘the bow’
- hu³kx-a² kat³-ha¹li¹*
 bow-DEF CL.long-NU.two
 ‘two bows’
- (219) *hu³kxa³-ki³-a²*
 bow-CL.small-DEF
 ‘shot (for guns)’
- hu³kxa³-ki³a² ki³-ha¹li¹*
 bow-CL.small-DEF CL.small-NU.two
 ‘two pellets of shot’
- (220) *wã²la²-ka³lo³-a²*
 cloth-CL.cloth-DEF
 ‘the cloth’
- wã²la² ka³lo³-ka³na³ki¹*
 cloth CL.cloth-NU.one
 ‘one cloth’

16.3.4. Quantifiers. Quantifiers are derived from the numerals given in the preceding section. Either $ka^3na^3ku^2$ or ha^1la^2 means ‘a few’. The last syllable of the numerals one and two changes to convey the meaning ‘a few’. (See list of numerals in 16.3.3.)

- (221) $W\tilde{a}^2la^2$ $ka^3lo^3-ha^1la^2$ $ten^3-sa^3-nha^2-wa^2$
 dress CL.cloth-a few want-1SG-INTERN-IMPF

‘I want several dresses’.

- (222) $Ka^3ya^3-ki^3-a^2$ $ka^3na^3ku^2$ $\tilde{u}^3h\tilde{u}^1-s\tilde{e}^1-la^2$.
 corn-CL.small-DEF a few give-WIMP-PF

‘Give me a few kernels of corn’.

(See 19.3.4.2 for the imperative variant in this example.)

In the imperative form, the recipient is implied by the imperative suffix (see 12).

16.4. Co-occurrence restrictions. Time frame, demonstrative, and article are mutually exclusive. Only one of these suffixes can occur for any given noun.

17. Pronouns.

17.1. Personal pronouns. Personal pronouns occur most frequently as bound forms or person marker suffixes on the verb. Subject and object nouns are given only when a new participant is introduced, or when there would be too much confusion if the noun were omitted. Free pronoun forms are rare for the same reason. The bound forms, however, are never omitted. Free forms occur only as singular forms. When plural free forms are needed, the “group” suffix must be used (see 16.1.4).

- $txai^2li^2$ ‘I’
 $wx\tilde{a}i^2na^2$ ‘you’
 te^2na^2 ‘he’/‘she’
 $-n\tilde{a}u^3xa^2$ ‘group’

To make explicit the gender of the pronoun for the third person, one must use the classifier jah^1la^2 for masculine and $ta^1ka^3lxa^2$ for feminine. te^2na^2 does not indicate gender. It is used when gender is either not known or not important. It is necessary to specify person and number, and subject or object, when choosing the bound person markers. (For a complete list of person suffixes, see 19.1.6 and 19.1.8.)

17.2. Possessive pronouns. Possessive pronoun prefixes occur on the nouns they possess. Only person is indicated. Number is not marked (also see 16.1.1).

txa^2-	1	person
wxa^2-	2	person
a^2-	3	person
$twa^2w\tilde{a}^1-$	1+2	person

- (223) $txa^2-sxi^2ha^2$
 POS1-house
 ‘my house’

17.3. Indefinite pronouns. Indefinite pronouns occur as free forms. The following two forms occur:

- (224) $\tilde{r}^2li^3te^2a^2$ ‘anyone’
 (225) $\tilde{a}^1th\tilde{u}n^3te^2a^2$ ‘someone’

17.4. Demonstrative pronouns. Demonstrative pronouns are indicated by a noun suffix $-ai^2li^2$ (see also 10.2).

- (226) sxi^2h-a^2
 house-DEF
 ‘the house’
 (227) $sxi^2h-ai^2li^2$
 house-DEM
 ‘that house’

17.5. Reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns have only one form, $-nha^1$ (see also 5.1).

- (228) $Hxi^2yo^3-li^2-nh-a^1-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 Finger-cut-RFX-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I cut my finger’.

17.6. Reciprocal pronouns. Reciprocal pronouns have only one form, $-nyhuh^1$ (see also 5.2).

- (229) $\tilde{I}^3yau^1\tilde{u}^3-nyhuh^1-\emptyset-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 teach-RCP-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘They taught each other.’

17.7. Interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns occur at the beginning of an interrogative sentence. (A more complete list is given in 11.2.)

$\tilde{I}h^1te^2a^2$	‘who’ (human)
$Y\tilde{a}^1te^2a^2$	‘what’ (nonhuman)
$\tilde{I}h^1n\tilde{u}^1la^3tq^3$	‘where’
$\tilde{I}h^1nxe^3h\tilde{u}^1na^2$	‘when’

$\tilde{I}h^1nxe^3sx\tilde{a}^3$	‘how’
$\tilde{I}h^1nxe^3ha^2kxai^3$	‘why’
$\tilde{I}h^1nxe^3kxa^2y\tilde{a}n^3ti^3tq^3$	‘what purpose’

18. Adpositional phrase structure. Adpositional phrases do not exist. There is a certain mixing of noun classifiers and specific verb stems that brings out the meaning of adpositional phrases.

- (230) $Sxi^2-h\tilde{e}^1n-a^2$ $bo^2la^2-nxqx^3k-a^2$ $sxa^2-na^3-la^2$.
house-CL.hollow-DEF ball-CL.closed-DEF lie-T/E.IO.PRES-PF
‘The ball is in the house’.
- (231) $Hai^3sxa^3-n\tilde{a}u^3-a^2$ $in^3jx-ah^3l-a^2$ $yxo^2ha^3ti^3li^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
field-CL.open-DEF man-CL.man-DEF cross-3SG.T/E.IO.P-PF
‘The man went through the field’.

19. Verbs.

19.1. Overview. Morphology of the verb is the most complex part of this language. There are a certain number of derivational prefixes and suffixes, and a much larger number of inflectional suffixes on the verb stem. The diagrammatical formula, given below, includes all categories that occur in the verb. The instrumental prefix and the first two suffixes are derivational affixes.

+/- INSTL + Verb stem +/- CS +/- BN

The following is a continuation of the above with the inflectional suffixes:

+/- ADV1 +/- O.person +/- ADV2 +/- S.person +/- NEG +/- AUX +/-
S1.SG + T/E + ASP +/- DS.CLT

Person suffixes are composite forms. There is a separate slot for object and subject persons. Subject 1SG is separate from the rest of the subject persons. These two composite forms are illustrated with lists of person markers pertinent to the section being discussed (see 19.1.6, 19.1.8, and 19.1.11).

19.1.1. Instrumental prefix. There are five Instrumental prefixes, with the focus on agent.

Implement as agent acting on the goal: $\tilde{u}h^3-$

- (232) $\tilde{u}^3h-\tilde{a}u^2-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.
INSTR-break-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
‘I’ll break (sever) it (with a knife as instrument)’.

Human hand as agent acting on the goal: wxa^2-

- (233) $Wxa^2-n\tilde{a}u^2-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.
HAND-break-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
‘I’ll break it (with hand)’.

Unspecified agent acting on the goal: sa^2 -

(234) $Sa^2-n\tilde{a}u^2-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

UNSPG-break-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

'I'll break it (with unspecified agent)'.

Unspecified agent acting on itself: \tilde{a}^3 -

(235) $\tilde{A}^3-ka^3la^3-h\tilde{e}t^1-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

UNSPCR-NI.shoulder-hang-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

'I'll make it hang on my shoulder (reflexive agent)'.

Unspecified agent acting in continuum: \tilde{r}^3 -

(236) $\tilde{R}^3-wa^3kon^3-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

UNSPCC-work-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

'I want to cause work to go on continuously'.

(237) $\tilde{R}^3-wait^3-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

UNSPCC-straighten-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

'I'll make it be straight'.

19.1.2. Verb stem. Stative stems occur in stative verbs (see 2.3).

The occurrence of the instrumental prefix is contingent on the Nam-bikuara belief about the origin of the personal state. If it is considered purely natural, without agent, the instrumental is omitted. If, however, it is considered to have been caused either from within or without oneself, the instrumental must be used.

(238) $\tilde{r}^3-hxi^2-wai^3lot^3-sa^3-\emptyset-h\tilde{e}^1-la^2$.

UNSPCC-NI.finger-hurt-O.1SG-3SG-INTERN.P-PF

'He hurt my finger'.

Intransitive stems occur in intransitive verbs and transitive stems occur in transitive verbs.

(239) $Wai^3a^3lxa^2 \quad \tilde{a}^3nih^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.

dog run-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'The dog ran'.

(240) $Kwhi^1txa^2 \quad \tilde{a}^3nan^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.

deer shoot-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'He shot a deer'.

19.1.3. Change of state suffix. The change of state suffix $-ki^3$ occurs only with verbalized adjectival stems.

(241) $Wai^3wain^3-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.

straight-RDUP-3SG-EQUAT-PF

'It is straight'. (It is in a straightened position.)

In (242), tone is perturbed from ³ to ² before the third-person singular verb suffix in some verb stem classes (see 19.3.4.2).

(242) \tilde{I}^3 -wain³-ki²- \emptyset -na³-la².

UNSPCC-straight-CS-3SG-EQUAT-PF

'It is straightened'. (It is caused to be in a straightened position.)

(243) \tilde{I}^3 -wain³-ki³-te³l-a¹-wa².

UNSPCC-straight-CS-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

'I want to straighten it'. (I want to cause it to be in a straightened position.)

19.1.4. Benefactive suffix. There is only one form: -ki². Its function is to point out a benefactor of the action. Co-occurrence with the benefactive suffix is a pronoun recipient in the suffix of the verb word, which acts as a person referent of the benefactive suffix of the stem. Notice that the tone on -ki² has changed from ² to ¹. When -ki² is followed by the second-person form, the tone ² is perturbed to form -ki¹.

(244) Sa²-so¹-na¹-tu¹-wa².

UNSPG-take-1SG-F-IMPF

'I will take it'.

(245) Sa²-so¹-ki¹-nxa²-ha¹-tu¹-wa².

UNSPG-take-BN-2SG-1SG-F-IMPF

'I will take it from you'.

(246) Sa²-so¹-ki²-na¹-tu¹-wa².

UNSPG-take-BN-1SG-F-IMPF

'I will take it from him'.

19.1.5. Adverb1 suffix. The adverb1 suffix occurs immediately after the last of the derivational suffixes. It has a close relationship with the verb stem. A partial list of adverb1 suffixes is as follows:

-khaix ¹	'positive emphasizer'
-ti ³ hex ¹	'negative emphasizer'
-ye ²	'look as if it might'
-sa ² tē ³	'continuous'
-xai ³	'consecutive'
-sa ² thet ³	'intermittent'

(247) Sxih²-ye³n-a² yxau²-sa²tē³-ain¹- \emptyset -tu¹-wa².

house-CL.circle-DEF live-ADV1.cont-PL-3SG-F-IMPF

'He will live in the village permanently'.

- (248) *Yain³tx-a² ũ³hũ¹-xai³-nx²-t-ain¹-∅-tu¹-wa².*
 food-DEF give-ADV1.cons-O.2SG-2PL-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF

‘They will give you food (one after the other in turn)’.

19.1.6. Object person suffix. Person marker suffix refers anaphorically to the real person/object that is either alluded to or given overtly in the subject/object of the clause. (For free form personal pronouns, see 17.1.)

Persons are first, second, and third. First person is divided into inclusive (combination of first person and second person) and exclusive (second person excluded). Third-person plural is divided into inclusive (combination of first person and third person) and exclusive (no first person involvement). Third-person inclusive is further divided to show whether the first person involved is singular or plural.

Person suffixes differ for subject and object. They must agree with free form counterparts. More than two sets of person markers cannot occur in any given clause. If more than two are required, the clause must be restated in the form of multiple clauses in order not to exceed the maximum of two sets of person markers per clause.

Singular object persons are marked with o. Subject persons are not marked. Singular forms occur only in the first person and second person. Third person is unmarked. (See 249, 253, and 257 below for posited location of third person.)

- (249) *-sa³ o.1SG*
-nxa² o.2SG
-∅ o.3SG
- (250) *Ũ³hũ¹-sa³-∅-tu¹-wa².*
 give-O.1SG-3SG-F-IMPF
 ‘He will give to me’.
- (251) *Ũ³hũ¹-nxa²-∅-tu¹-wa².*
 give-O.2SG-3SG-F-IMPF
 ‘He will give to you’.
- (252) *Ũ³hũ-∅-na¹-tu¹-wa².*
 give-3SG-S.1SG-F-IMPF
 ‘I will give to him’.

Dual forms follow the singular forms. Second-person dual is the same as the second-person plural.

- | (253) Dual form | Combined | Breakdown | English gloss |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>-yah³</i> | <i>-syah³</i> | O.1SG+DU | ‘us’ |
| <i>-ti³</i> | <i>-nx²ti³</i> | O.2SG+DU | ‘you’ |
| <i>-yah³</i> | <i>-∅yah³</i> | O.3SG+DU | ‘them’ |

- (254) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - syah^3 - \emptyset - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-O.1SG.DU-3SG-F-IMPF
'He will give it to us (two)'.
- (255) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - nx^2 - ti^3 - \emptyset - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-O.2SG-2PL-3SG-F-IMPF
'He will give it to you (two or more)'.
- (256) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ya^3 - ha^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-O.3SG.DU-1SG-F-IMPF
'I will give it to them (two)'.

Plural forms follow the singular forms. In the combination of first person and third person, dual comes first, then singular, followed by plural.

- | (257) Plural form | Combined | Breakdown | English gloss |
|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------|------------------|
| - $s\tilde{in}^1$ | - $sa^2 s\tilde{in}^1$ | O.1SG+1PL | 'us' (excl.) |
| - ne^3 | - ne^3 | 1+2 | 'us' (incl.) |
| - $ya^3 sain^1$ | - $\emptyset ya^3 sain^1$ | O.3SG+DU+
O.1SG+3PL | 'us' (me + them) |
| - $ya^3 sain^1 s\tilde{in}^1$ | - $\emptyset ya^3 sain^1 s\tilde{in}^1$ | O.3SG+DU+
O.1SG+3PL+1PL | 'us' (us + them) |
| - ti^3 | - $nx^2 ti^3$ | O.2SG+2PL | 'you' (PL) |
| - ain^1 | - $\emptyset ain^1$ | O.3SG+3PL | 'them' |
- (258) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - sa^2 - s\tilde{in}^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-3SG-O.1SG-1PL-F-IMPF
'He will give to us (plural)'.
- (259) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ne^3 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-3SG-O.1+2-F-IMPF
'He will give to us (you and us)'.
- (260) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ya^3 - s - ain^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-3SG-DU-O.1SG-3PL-F-IMPF
'He will give to us (me and them)'.
- (261) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ya^3 - s - ain^1 - s\tilde{in}^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-3SG-DU-O.1SG-3PL-1PL-F-IMPF
'He will give to us (us + them)'.
- (262) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - nx^2 - ti^3 - tu^1 - wa^2$.
give-3SG-O.2SG-2PL-F-IMPF
'He will give to you (plural)'.

(263) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ain^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.

give-3SG-3PL-F-IMPF

‘He will give to them’.

In imperatives, there are two sets of person markers: speaker and addressee. Number is singular or plural for the speaker and singular, dual, or plural for the addressee (see 12).

19.1.7. Adverb2 suffix. There is a small list of adverb2 suffixes:

$-n\tilde{u}n^3$ ‘also’

$-toh^3$ ‘again’

$-s\tilde{a}n^2$ ‘first’ (before something else)

(264) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - nx^2 - ti^3 - s\tilde{a}n^2 - s\tilde{t}^1 n - a^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.

give-O.2SG-2PL-ADV2.frnt-1PL-1SG-F-IMPF

‘We will give to you first’.

(265) $\tilde{U}^3 h\tilde{u}^1 - \emptyset - ain^1 - to^3 h - a^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.

give-O.3SG-3PL-ADV2.rpt-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will give to them again’.

19.1.8. Subject person suffix. The following forms are the singular forms. Third person is unmarked. The location of the third-person singular zero form is posited by comparison with the first- and second-person sequences in both singular and plural constructions (see 266, 270, and 274 below).

(266) $-a^1$ s.1SG

$-in^1$ s.2SG

$-\emptyset$ s.3SG

(267) $Txai^2 li^2$ $hu^3 kx - a^2$ $so^1 xi^2 - na^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.

I bow-DEF get-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will get the bow’.

(268) $Wxai^2 na^2$ $hu^3 kx - a^2$ $so^1 x - in^1 - tu^1 - wa^2$.

you bow-DEF get-2SG-F-IMPF

‘You will get the bow’.

(269) $Jo^3 \tilde{a}u^2 - ah^3 la^2$ $hu^3 kx - a^2$ $so^1 xi^2 - \emptyset - tu^1 - wa^2$.

John-CL.man bow-DEF get-3SG-F-IMPF

‘John will get the bow’.

The dual marker is $-yah^3$. Duals and plurals always precede subject singular forms.

- | (270) | Dual form | Combined | Breakdown | English gloss |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------|
| | -yah ³ | -ya ³ ha ¹ | 1DU | 'we' |
| | -yah ³ | -ya ³ hin ¹ | 2DU | 'you' |
| | -yah ³ | -yah ³ (∅) | 3DU | 'they' |
- (271) A³li³-ya³h-a¹-tu¹-wa².
leave-DU-1SG-F-IMPF
'We (two) will leave'.
- (272) A³li³-ya³h-in¹-tu¹-wa².
leave-DU-2SG-F-IMPF
'You (two) will leave'.
- (273) A³li³-ya³h-∅-tu¹-wa².
leave-DU-3SG-F-IMPF
'They (two) will leave'.

Plural markers vary with the person, as indicated below. Second-person plural follows second-person dual. Both must be present for plural in the second person but not for plural in first or third person. Note that there are two combinations for 'we' with third-person involvement, depending on whether first person is singular or plural. These two forms are the same in Nambikuara for both subject and object, even though in English the difference would be 'we' and 'us'. Compare lines three and four in example (274) with lines three and four in (257). Note that the 1SG is object. Hence the literal translation of lines three and four is, respectively, 'me with they' and 'us with they'.

- | (274) | Plural form | Combined | Breakdown | English gloss |
|-------|---|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| | -sĩn ¹ | -sĩ ¹ na ¹ | 1PL+1SG | 'we (exc.)' |
| | -ki ³ | -ki ³ | 1+2 | 'we (incl.)' |
| | -ya ³ sain ¹ | ya ³ sain ¹ ∅ | DU+O.1SG+
3PL+3SG | 'we (me+they)' |
| | -ya ³ sain ¹ sĩn ¹ | -ya ³ sain ¹ sĩn ¹ -∅ | DU+O.1SG+
3PL+1PL+3SG | 'we (us+they)' |
| | -lxi ³ | -yah ³ lxin ¹ | DU+2PL+2SG | 'you (PL)' |
| | -ain ¹ | -ain ¹ -∅ | 3PL+3SG | 'they' |
- (275) A³li³-sĩ¹n-a¹-tu¹-wa².
leave-1PL-1SG-F-IMPF
'We will leave'.
- (276) A³li³-ki³-tu¹-wa².
leave-1+2-F-IMPF
'We (and you) will leave'.

- (277) $A^3li^3-ya^3-s-ain^1-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$.
leave-DU-O.1SG-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF
'We (I and they) will leave'.
- (278) $A^3li^3-ya^3-s-ain^1-s\tilde{in}^1-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$.
leave-DU-O.1SG-3PL-1PL-3SG-F-IMPF
'We (us and they) will leave'.
- (279) $A^3li^3-yah^3-lx-in^1-tu^1-wa^2$.
leave-DU-2PL-2SG-F-IMPF
'You all will leave'.
- (280) $A^3li^3-ain^1-\emptyset-tu^1-wa^2$.
leave-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF
'They will leave'.
- (281) $\tilde{U}^3h\tilde{u}^1-nx^2-ti^3-s\tilde{t}^1n-a^1-tu^1-wa^2$.
give-O.2SG-2PL-1PL-1SG-F-IMPF
'We will give to you (plural)'.
- (282) $\tilde{U}^3h\tilde{u}^1-ain^1-\emptyset-yah^3-lx-in^1-tu^1-wa^2$.
give-3PL-O.3SG-DU-2PL-2SG-F-IMPF
'You (plural) will give to them'.

When someone is spokesperson for a group in conveying information, the first-person plural form $-s\tilde{in}^1$ must be included. This person is not part of the "action" but is identified with those who have the information that is being conveyed. In (283), the person is conveying the information as part of a group who knew the others had worked, although the spokesperson's group had not. In (284), the person is conveying the information as part of the group that knew "something" was big. The person is neither subject nor predicate complement of the equative clause (see 2.4).

- (283) $w\tilde{a}^3lx-ain^1-\emptyset-s\tilde{in}^1-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
return-3PL-3SG-1PL-T/E.IO.P-PF
'They returned'. (As spokesperson for my group, I'm reporting that they returned.)
- (284) $k\tilde{a}in^2-s\tilde{in}^1-na^3-la^2$.
big-1PL-EQUAT-PF
'It's big'. (I'm speaking for everyone in this group when I say that it's big.)

19.1.9. Negative suffix. The negative suffix negates the action of the verb stem. It is described in detail in 13 above.

(285) *Wxa³-ai¹n-Ø-xa³-tait¹tu³-wa².*

come-3PL-3SG-NEG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘They didn’t come (as we all know)’.

(286) *Hu³kx-a² ũ³hũ¹-sa³-Ø-xa³-tait¹tu³-wa².*

bow-DEF give-O.1SG-3SG-NEG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘He didn’t give me the bow (as we all know)’.

19.1.10. Auxiliary verb suffix. An auxiliary verb occurs after the stem of the main verb. The main verb will not have person and tense/evidential suffixes. They will occur after the auxiliary verb with the same person and tense as the main verb. When the person/tense is different, the construction changes and the clause must be rephrased. The main verb must be expressed as a free word. The verb suffixes will be attached to the auxiliary verb (see 291 and 292).

There are three auxiliary verbs.

-lxun¹ ‘desire’ occurs with transitive and intransitive verb stems with stative verb suffixes (see 2.3). The formula is as follows:

+ main verb + SG.object + AUX.DSR +/- PL + INTERN + ASP

(287) *wa³kon³-sa²-lxun¹-nha²-wa².*

work-O.1SG-AUX.DSR-INTERN-IMPF

‘I desire to work’.

(288) *Ai³-sa²-lxun¹-sĩn¹-nha²-wa².*

go-O.1SG-AUX.DSR-PL-INTERN-IMPF

‘We desire to go’.

-tel³ ‘imminent action’ occurs with transitive and intransitive verb stems and suffixes. The formula is as follows:

+ main verb +/- PL + AUX.IMM + SG.subject + ASP

(289) *wa³kon³-sĩn¹-te³l-a¹-wa².*

work-PL-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF

‘We want to work’.

(290) *Kwhi¹ta² ā³na³n-ain¹-te³-na³-la².*

deer kill-PL-AUX.IMM-PRES-PF

‘They want to kill a deer’.

-ten³ ‘want’ must be used for different subject auxiliary verbs. The main verb will be a separate word preceding the auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb will have stative verb suffixes. The formula changes to the following:

+ main verb + person + COMP.static + AUX.*ten*³ + O.SG +/- PL + INTERN
+ ASP

- (291) *Sxi*²*ha*² *to*³*n-ain*¹-*Ø-ju*³*ta*² *ten-sa*⁻³*nha*²-*wa*².
house build-3PL-3SG-COMP.static AUX.WNT-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF
'I want them to build the house'.

- (292) *Ai*³-*na*¹-*ju*³*ta*² *te*³*n-Ø-ain*¹-*na*²*hẽ*³-*la*².
go-1SG-COMP.STAT AUX.WNT-3SG-3PL-T/E.IO.P-PF
'They wanted me to go'.

19.1.11. Singular subject person suffix. When there is an auxiliary verb, the singular subject person suffixes occur after it.

- (293) *Hi*²*nũ*¹*n-Ø-ain*¹-*sĩ*¹-*te*³*l-a*¹-*wa*².
help-O.3SG-3PL-1PL-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
'We want to help them'.

- (294) *Hi*²*nũ*¹*n-Ø-ain*¹-*sĩ*¹*n-a*¹-*tait*¹*tu*³-*wa*².
help-O.3SG-3PL-1PL-1SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
'We helped them'.

- (295) *Hi*²*nũ*¹*n-Ø-ain*¹-*te*³*l-in*¹-*ji*¹-*wa*²?
help-O.3SG-3PL-AUX.IMM-2SG-Q-IMPF
'Are you (singular) going to help them?'

- (296) *Hi*²*nũ*¹*n-Ø-ain*¹-*yah*³*lxi*³-*te*³*l-in*¹-*ji*¹-*wa*²?
help-O.3SG-3PL-2DU-2PL-AUX.IMM-2SG-Q-IMPF
'Are you (plural) going to help them?'

19.1.12. Tense/evidential suffix.

19.1.12.1. Tense. There are five tenses:

remote—further back in time than the lifetime of the speaker
past—normal past but not including today
recent—any past-time today
present—action going on now
future—action not yet started

Tense other than future (see below) is part of a composite form that includes evidentials. The future tense suffix *-tu*¹ is not affected by orientation or verification.

- (297) *Wa*³*ko*³*n-a*¹-*tu*¹-*wa*².
work-1SG-F-IMPF
'I will work'.

When the clause includes a negative, the future tense suffix is *-lho*³ with the perfective aspect suffix (instead of *-tu*¹ with the imperfective aspect

suffix). In all other tenses the suffix is the same for positive and negative (see 25.7 for morphophonemic modifications).

(298) *Wa³kon³-nxa³-lho³-la².*

work-NEG-FN-PF

'I will not work'.

19.1.12.2. Evidential suffix system. The evidential suffix consists of what is normally the tense system, plus two features not normally found in a language—verification and observation. Although these are two different features of the suffix system, they are described in the same section because the forms of the suffixes are so intertwined.

- (1) Verification tells us who can verify the statements of the event. INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION indicates that the event was witnessed by the speaker only. COLLECTIVE VERIFICATION indicates that the event was witnessed by the speaker and the addressee(s).
- (2) Orientation tells us the source of the information given by the speaker. OBSERVATION ORIENTATION indicates that an activity was seen by the speaker and then related to the addressee(s). DEDUCTION ORIENTATION indicates that an activity was not witnessed by the speaker, but some other action or event caused the speaker to deduce that what he is relating to the addressee(s) must have occurred. CUSTOMARY ORIENTATION indicates that an activity always occurs in a certain manner, such as animal habits. NARRATION ORIENTATION indicates that an activity of which the speaker heard he is now retelling to the addressee(s).

Both (1) and (2) vary with the tense in which they occur. Neither occurs with the future tense. The following examples illustrate all existing singular forms. Plural forms also exist (see 11.1.2, Interrogative). Examples include all persons where forms differ.

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION, OBSERVATION ORIENTATION—I'm telling you what I saw the actor doing.

(299) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-hẽ³-la².*

work-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'I worked yesterday'.

Wa³kon³-∅-na²-hẽ³-la².

work-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'He worked yesterday'.

- (300) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-la²*.
 work-1SG-T/E.IO.REP-PF
 ‘I worked today’.
- Wa³kon³-∅-na²-la²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.IO.REP-PF
 ‘He worked today’.
- (301) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-wa²*.
 work-1SG-T/E.IO.PRES-IMPF
 ‘I am working’.
- Wa³kon³-∅-na³-wa²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-IMPF
 ‘He is working’.

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION, DEDUCTION ORIENTATION—I’m telling you my deduction of an action that must have occurred because of something that I saw/see.

- (302) *Wa³kon³-∅-nũ²-hẽ³-la²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.ID.P-PF
 ‘He must have worked yesterday’.
- (303) *Wa³kon³-∅-nĩn²su²-la²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.ID.REP-PF
 ‘He must have worked today’.
- (304) *Wa³kon³-∅-nĩn²ta²-wa²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.ID.PRES-IMPF
 ‘He must be working’.

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION, CUSTOMARY ORIENTATION—The speaker knows this to be true from what always happens that way.

- (305) *Tĩ³ka³l-a²* *kai³l-a²* *yain-∅-te²ju²hẽ³-la²*.
 anteater-DEF ant-DEF eat-3SG-T/E.IC.P-PF
 ‘The anteater habitually eats ants’.

INDIVIDUAL VERIFICATION, NARRATION ORIENTATION—I was told that a certain action had occurred.

- (306) *Wa³kon³-∅-ta¹hxai²hẽ¹-la²*.
 work-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF
 ‘I was told that he worked’.

Wa³kon³-∅-ta¹hẽ¹-la².

work-3SG-T/E.IN.P-PF

‘I was told that he worked’.

Wa³kon³-∅-ta¹hẽ²-la².

work-3SG-T/E.IN.REP-PF

‘I was told that he worked’.

COLLECTIVE VERIFICATION, OBSERVATION ORIENTATION—I report what both I and the addressee saw. (The past and recent have optional shortened forms.)

(307) *Wa³ko³n-a¹-tai¹ti²tu³-wa².*

work-1SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘You and I saw that I worked’.

Wa³ko³n-a¹-tait¹tu³-wa².

work-1SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF

‘You and I saw that I worked’.

Wa³ko³n-a¹-te¹ni²tu³-wa².

work-1SG-T/E.CO.REP-IMPF

‘You and I saw that I worked’.

Wa³ko³n-a¹-ten¹tu³-wa².

work-1SG-T/E.CO.REP-IMPF

‘You and I saw that I worked’.

Wa³ko³n-a¹-ti²tu³-wa².

work-1SG-T/E.CO.PRES-IMPF

‘You and I see that I am working’.

COLLECTIVE VERIFICATION, DEDUCTION ORIENTATION—Both speaker and addressee deduce that an action must have taken place.

(308) *Wa³kon³-∅-te³nait¹ti²tu³-wa².*

work-3SG-T/E.CD.P-IMPF

‘He worked’.

Wa³kon³-∅-te³nu¹ti²tu³-wa².

work-3SG-T/E.CD.REP-IMPF

‘He worked’.

Wa³kon³-∅-tu¹ti²tu³-wa².

work-3SG-T/E.CD.PRES-IMPF

‘He works’.

COLLECTIVE VERIFICATION, NARRATION ORIENTATION—Both speaker and addressee were told that a certain action had taken place.

(309) *Wa³kon³-Ø-ta¹tēx¹ti²tu³-wa².*

work-3SG-T/E.CN.P-IMPF

‘We were told that he worked’.

Wa³kon³-Ø-ta¹te¹ti²tu³-wa².

work-3SG-T/E.CN.REP-IMPF

‘We were told that he worked’.

19.1.13. Aspect/gender suffix.

19.1.13.1. Aspect. There are two aspects: *-la²* ‘perfective’ and *-wa²* ‘imperfective’. They are the final suffixes in the verb word. The perfective aspect considers an event to be in some sense perfected, such as past tense, negative future, and stative other than first-person present. Some dialects of Nambikuara pronounce *-la²* ‘perfective’ as *-ra²*, irrespective of the preceding vowel (see 25.1).

(310) *Wi¹-na³-la².*

good-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s good’.

(311) *Wi¹-na³-ra².*

good-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s good’.

The imperfective aspect considers an event to be in some way imperfected, such as present tense, all future positive forms, and stative first-person forms. Note the tone perturbation on the stem (see 19.3.4.2).

(312) *Wxā³-na¹-wa².*

come-1SG.T/E.IO.PRES-IMPF

‘I’m coming’.

(313) *Wxā³-na¹-tu¹-wa².*

come-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I will come’.

(314) *Wxān²-nxa³-lho³-la².*

come-1SG.NEG-FN-PF

‘I will not come’.

(315) *Wxān²-nxa³-wa².*

come-1SG.NEG.PRES-IMPF

‘I’m not coming’.

- (316) *Wxã³-∅-na²-hẽ³-la².*
 come-3SG.T/E.IO.P-PF
 'He came'.
- (317) *Wxã²-∅-na³-wa².*
 come-3SG.T/E.IO.P-IMPF
 'He's coming'.
- (318) *Wxã²-∅-nxa³-wa².*
 come-3SG.NEG.PRES-IMPF
 'He's not coming'.
- (319) *Heh³-sa³-nha²-wa².*
 hunger-O.1SG-INTERN-IMPF
 'I'm hungry'.
- (320) *Heh³-∅-na³-la².*
 hunger-3SG-PRES-PF
 'He's hungry'.

19.1.13.2. Gender. Gender is not marked for the participants of the action, but the gender of the addressee must be marked. It is indicated by the consonant of the aspect marker suffix of the main verb. The default form is the masculine form *-wa²* or *-la²*. For a feminine addressee, the forms are *-xa²* or *-na²*, respectively.

- (321) *Wxã³na¹tu¹wa².* masculine addressee
Wxã³na¹tu¹xa². feminine addressee
 'I will come'.
- (318) *Yxau²na³la².* masculine addressee
Yxau²na³na². feminine addressee
 'He is there'.

19.2. Co-occurrence restrictions. When future tense occurs, the tense/evidential system does not occur.

19.3. Stem formation.

19.3.1. Noun incorporation. Body parts are incorporated into the verb. Most frequently used body parts are the following:

<i>ne³-</i>	'head'
<i>yxe²ta³-</i>	'neck'
<i>ha³la³-</i>	'rib' (mid-section)
<i>ka³la³-</i>	'shoulder'
<i>wxi²-</i>	'tooth'

<i>nxa</i> ³ -	'cheek'
<i>yxo</i> ² -	'mouth'
<i>nũ</i> ² -	'arm'
<i>hxi</i> ² -	'finger'
<i>si</i> ³ -	'bottom'
<i>yu</i> ³ -	'foot'

With stative verbs, the body part refers to the actual part of the body.

- (323) *Sũn²tax³t-ai³t-ã²* *wxi²-ĩ³-sa³-hẽ¹-la²*.
 afternoon-T.P-DEF tooth-pain-O.1SG-P-PF
 'Yesterday afternoon, I had a toothache'.

With transitive and intransitive verbs, the body part is used figuratively to indicate the specific location of the action.

- (324) *Pre²ka²ki³a²* *ũ³-ha³la³-kwã¹t-a¹-hẽ³-la²*.
 nail INSTR-NI.middle-bend-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'I bent the nail near the middle'.
- (325) *Pre²ka²ki³a²* *ũh³-yxe²ta³-kwã¹t-a¹-hẽ³-la²*.
 nail INSTR-NI.neck-bend-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'I bent the nail near the neck'.

19.3.2. Serial verbs. Serial verbs are composed of two juxtaposed verb stems. The second verb involves motion of some form such as 'take', 'leave', or 'give'. They are, in actuality, two verbs performing one function.

- (326) *Ka³yax³ta²* *ãu²-so¹-ain¹-∅-na²-hẽ³-la²*.
 corn break-take-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'They picked corn'.
- (327) *Jo³ãu²-ah³la²* *ĩ³hau³ko³t-ũ¹h-a¹-tu¹-wa²*.
 John-man prepare-give-1SG-F-IMPF
 'I will teach John'.
- (328) *Tĩh³na²* *i²l-ã³-∅-na²-hẽ³-la²*.
 rope cut-leave-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'He severed the rope'.
- (329) *Mã²ka²-nxq³x-a²* *i²l-ho¹-∅-na²hẽ³-la²*.
 mango-CL.fruit-DEF cut-take-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 'He picked the mango'.

Serial verbs occur in independent clauses (examples above) and dependent clauses (examples below).

- (330) $M\tilde{a}^2ka^2-nxa^3x-a^2$ $i^2l-ho^1-sx\tilde{a}^3$ $\tilde{i}^3xi^2-na^1-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 mango-CL.fruit-DEF cut-take-IMSQ go home-1SG-T/E.IO.P-IMPF
 ‘I picked the mango and came home’.

19.3.3. Verbalizations. Adjectival stems become transitive verb stems with the addition of the instrumental prefix \tilde{i}^3 -.

- (331) $Pre^2ka^2-ki^3-a^2$ $wai^3-waix^3tx-\tilde{a}^3-la^2$.
 nail-CL.small-DEF straight-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
 ‘The nail is straight’.
- (332) $Pre^2ka^2-ki^3-a^2$ $\tilde{i}^3-waix^3t-a^1tu^1-wa^2$.
 nail-CL.small-DEF UNSPCC-straight-1SG-F-IMPF
 ‘I will straighten the nail’.

Noun stems are verbalized with the verbalizer $-on^3$.

- (333) $Sxih^2l-o^3n-a^1-h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 house-VZ-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘I lived there’.

Adverbs are verbalized by prefixing the instrumental prefix.

- (334) $Wa^3su^3txi^3$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 quickly come-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He came quickly’.
- (335) $\tilde{i}^3-wa^3sut^3-\emptyset-tait^1tu^3-wa^2$.
 UNSPCC-quick-3SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
 ‘He hurried’.

19.3.4. Classification by degree of “openness” of the stem. There is a further classification of verb stems, both transitive and intransitive, that is pertinent here. There are two stem classes based on the degree of “openness” of the stem. For the sake of clarity, the normal interlinear glosses are omitted and hyphens indicate the end of the verb stem.

19.3.4.1. Class 1 stems. Class 1 stems include all verbs whose stems are closed by a final consonant, plus some that are open (i.e., no final consonant). First-person singular marker is $-a^1$.

- (336) $\tilde{i}^3yai^3n-a^1wa^2$. ‘I’m eating’.
 $\tilde{i}^3yain^3-s\tilde{i}^1na^1wa^2$. ‘We are eating’.
 $\tilde{i}^3yain^3-na^3la^2$. ‘He’s eating’.
- (337) $A^3ni^3h-a^1wa^2$. ‘I’m running’.
 $A^3nih^3-s\tilde{i}^1na^1wa^2$. ‘We are running’.
 $A^3nih^3-na^3la^2$. ‘He’s running’.

- (338) *Yo³-a¹wa².* 'I'm gathering'.
Yo³-sĩ¹na¹wa². 'We are gathering'.
Yo³-na³la². 'He's gathering'.

19.3.4.2. Class 2 stems. Class 2 stems include verbs whose stems are open but whose first-person marker is always *-na¹* (not *-a¹*, as all the others are). In third-person singular, the tone on the final syllable of the stem will be perturbed to a tone ².

- (339) *Ka³la³-na¹wa².* 'I'm climbing'.
Ka³la³-sĩ¹na¹wa². 'We are climbing'.
Ka³la²-na³la². 'He's climbing'.
(340) *Tau³-na¹wa².* 'I'm chopping'.
Tau³-sĩ¹na¹wa². 'We are chopping'.
Tau²-na³la². 'He's chopping'.
(341) *So¹-na¹wa².* 'I'm bringing'.
So¹-sĩ¹na¹wa². 'We are bringing'.
So²-na³la². 'He's bringing'.

Class 2 stems always add *n* to the stem before the negative form and perturb the final stem tone to tone ². The first- and third-person negative will now be added to the two sets of examples given above. Negation is described in 13 and syllabification rules are described in 25.7, rule 16. In the following examples, the first set are Class 1 verb stems which do not change; the second set are Class 2 verb stems which do change.

Class 1

- (342) *ĩ³yain³-nxa³wa².* 'I'm not eating'.
ĩ³yai³-nxa³wa². 'He's not eating'.
A³nih³-nxa³wa². 'I'm not running'.
A³ni³-hxa³wa². 'He's not running'.
Yo³-nxa³wa². 'I'm not gathering'.
Yo³-xa³wa². 'He's not gathering'.

Class 2

- (343) *Ka³lan²-nxa³wa².* 'I'm not climbing'.
Ka³la²-nxa³wa². 'He's not climbing'.
Taun²-nxa³wa². 'I'm not chopping'.
Tau²-nxa³wa². 'He's not chopping'.
Son²-nxa³wa². 'I'm not bringing'.
So²-nxa³wa². 'He's not bringing'.

Class 2 verb stems have a different imperative form for the Weak Imperative (WIMP) 1–1, i.e., one speaker and one addressee (for weak imperatives, see 12.2).

Class 1

- (344) $\tilde{I}^3yain^3-txa^2h\tilde{e}^3la^2$. 'Eat!'
 $A^3nih^3-txa^2h\tilde{e}^3la^2$. 'Run!'
 $Yo^3-txa^2h\tilde{e}^3la^2$. 'Gather!'

Class 2

- (345) $Ka^3la^3-s\tilde{e}^1la^2$. 'Climb!'
 $Tau^3-s\tilde{e}^1la^2$. 'Chop!'
 $So^1-s\tilde{e}^1la^2$. 'Bring it!'

19.3.5. Pro-verb. The pro-verb nxe^3 - may be used to refer specifically to the last-mentioned independent verb. It occurs in either dependent clauses (346) or independent clauses (347), and with both transitive verbs (348) and intransitive verbs (346 and 347).

- (346) $S\tilde{u}n^2tax^3t-ai^3t-\tilde{a}^2$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. $Nxe^3-n\tilde{u}^2la^2$
 afternoon-T.P-DEF come-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF PRV-DSQ
 $\tilde{a}u^3x-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 sleep-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'They came yesterday afternoon. After they came, they slept'.

- (347) $S\tilde{u}n^2tax^3t-ai^3t-\tilde{a}^2$ $wx\tilde{a}^3-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$. $Hai^3sa^3-n\tilde{a}u^3a^2$
 afternoon-T.P-DEF come-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF field-CL.open
 $k\tilde{a}in^2$ $ka^3y\tilde{a}^3n-ha^2kxai^3$ $nxe^3-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 very wet-CAUS PRV-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'They came yesterday afternoon. Because the fields were very wet, they came'.

- (348) $S\tilde{u}n^2tax^3t-ai^3t-\tilde{a}^2$ $wa^3li^3nxa^2$ $wa^2xu^3h-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 afternoon-T.P-DEF manioc dig-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 $Yain^3txa^2$ $y\tilde{u}^3-ai^1n-\emptyset-xa^3-ha^2kxai^3$ $nxe^3-ain^1-\emptyset-na^2h\tilde{e}^3-la^2$.
 food have-3PL-3SG-NEG-CAUS PRV-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF

'They dug up manioc yesterday afternoon. Because they had no food, they did that'.

20. Adjectives. Adjective phrases occur modifying the subject or object of the clause. Modifiers occur after the head of the phrase, which is often one of the classifiers listed in 16.1.3 above. Adjectives can also function as predicates in adjectival equative clauses (see 1.5.2).

- (349) $W\tilde{a}^2la^2$ $wai^1-wain^1-ta^2$ $he^3-hen^3-ka^3lo^3a^2$. . .
 cloth striped-RDUP-PCN red-RDUP-CL.cloth
 'The striped red cloth . . .'

20.1. Adjective morphology.

20.1.1. Overview. Adjective stems include such categories as color, size, shape, attributes, and onomatopoeic forms. They occur in both adjectival equative clauses and in nominalizations.

20.1.2. Stems and affixes.

+/- instrumental + stem (for stems in transitive and intransitive clauses)

+ adjective + classifier (for stems modifying a noun)

20.1.2.1. The instrumental prefix. The instrumental prefix has already been discussed in 19.1.1.

20.1.2.2. The adjectival stem. Adjectival stems are divided into three classes, based on possibilities for reduplication.

Class 1 adjectival stems are compound stems, composed of either one or two syllables with reduplication of the entire stem.

(350) *He³-hen³-na³-la².*
red-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
'It's red'.

(351) *Wa³tāu³-wa³tāu³-na³-la².*
round-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
'It's round'.

Class 2 adjectival stems are complex, composed of two syllables with reduplication of the last syllable only.

(352) *Wa³tāi¹-tāin¹-na³-la².*
thin-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
'It's thin'.

(353) *Wa³si³-sin³-na³-la².*
dry-RDUP-EQUAT-PF
'It's dry'.

The reduplicated forms of class 1 and class 2 occur only when attributive stems are without the instrumental prefix. When the instrumental prefix occurs, the reduplicated part is lost and the roots become simple forms. In most cases, the instrumental prefix *ĩ³*- is used. However, when attention is focused on a specific agent, other forms are used, as described in 19.1.1.

(354) *Ĩ³-ka³yan³-te³l-a¹-wa².*
UNSPCC-wet-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
'I'll moisten it'.

(355) *Ĩ³-wa³tāu³-ki²-te³l-a¹-wa².*
UNSPCC-round-CS-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMPF
'I'll make it round'.

(356) $\tilde{U}h^3-ta^3loh^3-na^3-la^2$.

INSTR-inside out-EQUAT-PF

'It is inside out'.

(357) $\tilde{U}h^3-ta^3lai^3-ki^2-na^3-la^2$.

INSTR-intermesh-CS-EQUAT-PF

'The fallen tree tops are intermeshed'. (field with newly felled trees)

(It's in an intermeshed condition, caused by an implement.)

Class 3 adjectival stems are simple, composed of either one or two syllables and no reduplication.

(358) $H\tilde{a}n^3-na^3-la^2$.

white-EQUAT-PF

'It's white'.

(359) $A^3lu^2-na^3-la^2$.

long-EQUAT-PF

'It's long'.

(360) $Ka^3yan^3-na^3-la^2$.

wet-EQUAT-PF

'It's wet'.

20.1.2.3. Forming transitive stems. Adjectival stems occur with the instrumental prefix to form transitive stems. When so formed, the referent occurs optionally.

Caused attributive stem

(361) $\tilde{I}^3-ka^3y\tilde{a}u^1-ka^3y\tilde{a}u^1-ki^2-na^3-la^2$.

UNSPCC-crooked-RDUP-CS-EQUAT-PF

'It was caused to be crooked'.

Caused transitive stem

(362) $\tilde{I}^3-ka^3y\tilde{a}u^1-ka^3y\tilde{a}u^1-ki^2-te^3l-a^1-wa^2$.

UNSPCC-crooked-RDUP-CS-AUX.IMM-1SG-IMP

'I will cause it to be in a crooked state'.

There is ambiguity between a previously caused state and a present or a future caused state with the third person. At all other times, the actor is manifested in the word suffixes as previously described.

20.1.2.4. Forming attributives. Classifier suffix occurs with the adjectival stem to form attributives that modify nouns.

(363) $w\tilde{a}^2la^2$ $he^3-hen^3-ka^3lo^3-a^2$

cloth red-RDUP-CL.cloth-DEF

'red cloth'

20.1.2.5. Forming equative clauses. In adjectival equative clauses, the adjective occurs with the equative suffix.

(364) *Kāin²-na³-la²*.

big-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s big’.

20.1.3. Optional categories. There are two optional categories that occur between the stem and the person markers, modifier1 and modifier2.

20.1.3.1. Modifier1. Modifier1 has two morphemes of process occurring with adjectival stems.

(a) Static process makes an adjectival stem into an inherent process.

(365) *Wi¹-na³-la²*.

good-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s good’.

(366) *Wi¹-lhin¹-na³-la²*.

good-SP-EQUAT-PF

‘He’s a good (man)’ or ‘He’s good’.

(b) Active process makes an adjectival stem into an ongoing process.

(367) *Kāin²-na³-la²*.

big-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s big’.

(368) *Kāi²n-on³-na³-la²*.

big-AP-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s getting bigger’.

20.1.3.2. Modifier2. Modifier2 has three optional emphasizer morphemes.

(a) Negative emphasizer (NE) *-ti³he¹*

(369) *Wi¹-ti³he¹-nxa³-wa²*.

good-NE-NEG.EQUAT-IMPF

‘It’s not at all good’.

(b) Positive emphasizer (PE) *-khaix¹*

(370) *Wi¹-khaix¹-na³-la²*.

good-PE-EQUAT-PF

‘It’s very good’.

(c) Veracity emphasizer (VE)

Opinion (OP) *-te²sī³lxi²*

(371) *Wi¹-te²sī³lxi²-na³-la²*.

good-VE.OP-EQUAT-PF

‘I think it’s good’.

Apparent (APP) $-ye^1nx^2$

- (372) $Wi^1l-ye^1nx^2-na^3-la^2$.
 good-VE.APP-EQUAT-PF
 ‘It appears to be good’.

Similarity (SIM) $-te^2hün^3$

- (373) $Wi^1-te^2hün^3-na^3-la^2$.
 good-SIM-EQUAT-PF
 ‘It’s similar to something good’.

21. Adverbs.

21.1. Overview. Adverbs are optional words that occur near the beginning of the clause (see 2.1 and 2.2 for clause formulas).

21.2. Adverbial stems and affixes. Adverbial stems can be temporal, locative, or manner.

A temporal stem uses the temporal suffix corresponding to the tense referred to. Present tense is unmarked \emptyset . This is followed by the article, as in nouns.

- (374) $sün^2tax^3t-ai^3t-ā^2$
 afternoon-T.P-DEF
 ‘afternoon yesterday’

 $sün^2tax^3t-ĩ^3n-a^2$
 afternoon-T.REP-DEF
 ‘afternoon today already past’

 $sün^2tax^3t-\emptyset-a^2$
 afternoon-T.PRES-DEF
 ‘afternoon now’

A locative stem will use a locative suffix, ADVZ ‘place’.

- (375) $ho^3x-ain^1-\emptyset-je^3n-a^2$
 bathe-3PL-3SG-ADVZ-DEF
 ‘their bathing place’

A manner stem uses an adverbializer suffix.

- (376) Win^1-txi^3 $ai^3-ain^1-\emptyset-na^3-la^2$.
 slow-ADVZ go-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF
 ‘They are going slowly’.

An adjectival, adverbial, or nominal stem will use *-txi³* for the adverbializer. This adverbializer does not have ART on the end.

- (377) *Ũn³-txi³* *he¹-ki²-nyh-ain¹-∅-na³-la²*.
 fierce-ADVA fight-BN-RCP-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.PRES-PF
 ‘They fought each other fiercely’.
- (378) *Wa³su³-txi³* *wxã³-nĩn¹-tait¹tu³-wa²*.
 fast-ADVZ come-2SG-T/E.CO.P-IMPF
 ‘You came quickly’.
- (379) *Yxo²-hã³nxe³lxa³-txi³* *e³kx-ain¹-∅-ta¹hxai²hẽ¹-la²*.
 mouth-dangerous-ADVZ speak-3PL-3SG-T/E.IN.RP-PF
 ‘They spoke menacingly’.

21.3. Adverb phrase structure. Adverb phrases occur before the verb to modify the main verb. They can be either verb–verb, verb–adverb, noun–adverb, or adjective–verb. In all cases, the head precedes the modifier.

21.3.1. Verb–verb. In this case, neither verb is the main verb of the clause. The two verbs form an adverbial phrase preceding the main verb. The first verb is the head of the phrase.

- (380) *E³-ki³ha¹ki²* *so²ã³-ain¹-∅-na²hẽ³-la²*.
 speak-lie bring-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘Deceitfully, they brought him along’.

21.3.2. Verb–adverb.

- (381) *E³-wa³sut³-txi³* *ĩ³wa²lũ³xi²-∅-ta¹hxai²hẽ¹-la²*.
 speak-quick-ADVZ respond-3SG-T/E.IO.RP-PF
 ‘He replied quickly’.

21.3.3. Noun–adverb.

- (382) *Yxo²-hã³nxe³la³-txi³* *ĩ³wa²lũ³x-ain¹-∅-na²hẽ³-la²*.
 mouth-dangerous-ADVZ respond-they-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘He responded threateningly’.

21.3.4. Adjective–verb.

- (383) *Hu³kxa²* *wi¹-wa³su³kx-ain¹-∅-na²hẽ³-la²*.
 bow good-make-3PL-3SG-T/E.IO.P-PF
 ‘They made the bow well’.

22. Connectives. Connectives occur between two main clauses. Any subordinate clause suffix (see 15.1) can be used as a connective when preceded by the pro-verb (see 19.3.5).

- (384) *Wxā³-ain¹-∅-tu¹-wa². Nxe³-nū²la² sxi²h-a²*
 come-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF PRV-DSQ house-DEF
to³n-ain¹-∅-tu¹-wa².
 build-3PL-3SG-F-IMPF

‘They will come. When they do, they will build the house’.

- (385) *Wā²la²-ka³lo³-a² so¹ki²-na¹-hē³-la². Nxe³-yān¹ta¹*
 cloth-CL.cloth-DEF take-1SG-T/E.IO.P-PF PRV-CTR
ka³lo³-kāi²n-xa³-ha²kxai³ ka³lo³-q̃³x-a²
 cloth-big-NEG-CAUS cloth-other-DEF
so¹ki²-nū³n-a¹-tu¹-wa²
 take-ADV2.also-1SG-F-IMPF

‘I bought cloth. But because it wasn’t big, I will buy other cloth also’.

23. Particles.

23.1. Sentence clitics.

23.1.1. Question clitic. In interrogative sentences, a question clitic *-tq³* is attached to the end of the sentence-initial WH phrase (see 11.2).

- (386) *Īh¹-nu¹la³-tq³ ai³-te³l-in¹-ji¹-wa²?*
 WHH-CL-Q.CLT go-AUX.IMM-2SG-Q-IMPF

‘Where do you want to go?’

23.1.2. Negative clitic. When a transitive sentence is negative, a negative clitic *-la³* is attached to the direct object and, in effect, replaces the ART suffix (see 13).

- (387) *Hu³ki³-la³ yū³-ai¹n-∅-xa³-wa².*
 bow-N.CLT have-3PL-3SG-NEG-IMPF

‘They have no bow’.

23.1.3. Direct speech clitic. At the end of every sentence in a direct quotation, a direct speech clitic *-i¹* is attached after the aspect suffix. It will continue throughout the quotation regardless of the length of the quote (see 15.3.2). Morphophonemic rules elide this suffix with the aspect suffix (see 25.7, rule 10).

- (388) *Wxā³-na¹-tu¹-wa²-i¹. Nxe³na²hē³la².*
Wxā³na¹tu¹wi¹. Nxe³na²hē³la².

“‘I will come.’ Thus he said’.

23.1.4. Discontinuous phrase clitic. The discontinuous phrase clitic *-sa³* is attached to the final part of the phrase (see 3.3).

23.2. Speaker emotion particles. Speaker emotion particles open a new quotation indicating the emotion of the speaker. They act as interjections and are followed by a period.

<i>Ya³</i> .	‘doubt or surprise’
<i>Hēh³</i> .	‘uncertainty’
<i>M³xm¹</i> .	‘attention getter’
<i>Khā³xe³</i> .	‘perturbed’
<i>A³kwe²</i> .	‘pain’
<i>Ha³yo²</i> .	‘agreement’

- (389) *Khā³xe³*. *Īh¹-nxe³t-ah¹lon³kū²*. *Na¹-hē¹-la²*.
 SE.PTL WH-CL-PNS.indecq 1SG-INTERN.P-PF
 “‘Oh bother! How am I going to do that?’” I thought’.

24. Ideophones. Ideophones fall into several categories.

24.1. Names of animals and objects. Some animals and objects take their names from the sounds they make. These words follow the same rules that govern the usage of nouns. The use of laryngealization, nasalization, and tone fall within the parameters established in the practical orthography.

<i>kā³lā³kā³lā³su²</i>	‘toad’
<i>ka³la³ka³la²su²</i>	‘chicken’
<i>wa³tūt²su²</i>	‘frog’
<i>wxī¹su²</i>	‘toad’
<i>wxq³sxu²</i>	‘frog’
<i>kī³kit³su²</i>	‘cicada’
<i>ha²lu¹jen¹ki³su²</i>	‘tinamou’ (pheasant)
<i>tu³ka³lu²lhu²</i>	‘bird’
<i>ta²kā¹ta²kā¹su²</i>	‘hawk’
<i>kwī¹kwī¹ki³su²</i>	‘hawk’
<i>kxī¹su²</i>	‘hawk’
<i>kā³to¹su²</i>	‘monkey’
<i>wa³txu³ka³txu³ki³su²</i>	‘thunder’

24.2. Action verbs. The sound of the action is simulated in the pronunciation of the stem.

<i>t̃³to¹to¹-tā³la²</i>	‘knock on door or pound with hammer’
<i>ka³lor³-tā³la²</i>	‘drip of a faucet or rain on wet leaves’
<i>wa³ti³li³li³li³nx²-na³la²</i>	‘turning of a squeaky wheel’

24.3. Isolated words. Isolated words approximate a specific sound:

<i>ka³lāi³</i>	‘knife cutting weeds’
<i>tik¹</i>	‘knife cutting into wood’
<i>tai¹tai¹tai¹tai¹</i>	‘wild boar tusks clicking’
<i>wāi¹</i>	‘bird soaring’
<i>wa³yuh¹</i>	‘bird flying by’
<i>si³si³si³</i>	‘heart pumping blood’
<i>thu²thu²thu²</i>	‘people conversing, chattering’
<i>hi²hi²hi²</i>	‘women laughing’
<i>ū³pu²</i>	‘eggshell bursting’
<i>wa³laun³</i>	‘falling into a hole’

25. Phonology. The following is a summary of the phonological system. It should be noted that in **25.1–25.3**, all examples are written in phonetic script. Everywhere else in this paper the phonemic alphabet is used. All examples in **25** have stress marked with an apostrophe before the syllable. Other sections do not mark stress.

25.1. Consonants. There is an implosive alveolar stop. It is used mostly by the old people and is rapidly becoming obsolete.

Orthographic symbol	Phonetic symbol	Example	Definition
<i>d</i>	[d̥]	[ʼd̥āu ³ ta ³ su ²]	‘mangaba fruit’

There are a series of stops. For the most part, they are voiceless but have a tendency to be voiced when occurring intervocally and after nasal continuants.

<i>p</i>	[p]	[ʼpit ³ su ²]	‘gourd’
<i>t</i>	[t]	[ʼtau ³ na ¹ tu ¹ wa ²]	‘I’ll chop’
<i>j</i>	[č]	[ʼčah ¹ la ²]	‘he’
<i>k</i>	[k]	[kɒ ³ na ² su ²]	‘woodpecker’
<i>kw</i>	[kw]	[kwa ³ thi ³ rhū ²]	‘metal’
<i>x</i>	[ʔ]	[ʼĩ ³ ʔi ² na ³ la ²]	‘He’s going home’

There are a series of fricatives.

<i>f</i>	[ɸ]	[wa ³ li ³ ɸa ³ rĩn ² su ²]	‘wild manioc’
<i>s</i>	[s]	[a ² su ³ su ²]	‘bone’
<i>h</i>	[h]	[ʼhot ³ su ²]	‘monkey’

There are a series of oral and nasal continuants.

<i>l</i>	[l]	[a ² lodn ³ su ²]	‘brother’ (after mid and back vowels)
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<i>l</i>	[r]	[i ³ rodn ³ na ³ la ²] (after front vowels)	‘He’s drowning’
<i>m</i>	[m]	[ma ³ mău ² su ²] (only in loanwords)	‘papaya’
<i>n</i>	[n]	[’năn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘She is crying’
<i>n</i>	[dn]	[’wa ³ kodn ³ na ³ la ²] (after oral vowels)	‘He is working’
<i>n</i>	[m]	[’yăum ³ su ²] (after <i>ău</i> nasal diphthong)	‘flower’
<i>n</i>	[bm]	[’aubm ³ taidn ¹ na ³ la ²] (after <i>au</i> oral diphthong)	‘They are going’
<i>n</i>	[ŋ]	[’wăn ³ kodn ³ na ³ la ²] (before velar stop and after nasal vowel)	‘left over’
<i>n</i>	[gŋ]	[’wa ³ kogŋ ³ kʔi ² na ³ la ²] (before velar stop and after oral vowel)	‘He worked for someone’

There are two semivowels that function as consonants.

<i>w</i>	[w]	[’waidn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘That’s right’
<i>y</i>	[y]	[ya ² na ¹ la ²]	‘jaguar’

There is a series of aspirated consonants: stops, nasal continuants, and the semivowel *w*. When these consonants are aspirated, they are always voiceless.

<i>ph</i>	[p ^h]	[’p ^h ai ² rhu ²]	‘toad’
<i>th</i>	[t ^h]	[’t ^h ău ³ lhu ²]	‘ball’
<i>kh</i>	[k ^h]	[’k ^h idn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘itch’
<i>kwh</i>	[kw ^h]	[’kw ^h i ¹ ti ³ su ²]	‘deer’
<i>wh</i>	[w ^h]	[w ^h a ³ tign ³ kʔi ² na ³ la ²]	‘throw stones’

There are a series of glottalized consonants. Stops and fricatives express the glottalization after the consonant. Continuants and semivowels express glottalization before the consonant.

<i>px</i>	[pʔ]	[ya ³ pʔăn ¹ su ²]	‘taioba’
<i>tx</i>	[tʔ]	[’tʔăn ² na ³ la ²]	‘tight fit’
<i>kx</i>	[kʔ]	[’ʔne ³ kʔan ² ta ²]	‘return to topic’
<i>kwx</i>	[kwʔ]	[’kwʔē ³ ki ³ su ²]	‘fan’
<i>sx</i>	[sʔ]	[sʔe ³ sʔe ³ ki ³ su ²]	‘scorpion’
<i>hx</i>	[hʔ]	[’hʔadn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘all gone’
<i>lx</i>	[ʔl]	[’wē ³ ha ³ ʔli ³ su ²]	‘children’
<i>nx</i>	[ʔn]	[a ² ʔnu ³ ki ³ su ²]	‘cheek’
<i>wx</i>	[ʔw]	[ă ³ ʔwe ³ te ³ la ¹ wa ²]	‘I want to sit down’
<i>yx</i>	[ʔy]	[a ² ʔyo ² su ²]	‘mouth’

25.2. Vowels. There are five vowels and two diphthongs.

<i>i</i>	[i]	[ʔi ¹ na ²]	‘here’
<i>e</i>	[e]	[ʔte ² su ²]	‘that one’
<i>a</i>	[a]	[ha ³ lo ² su ²]	‘place’
<i>a</i>	[ʌ]	[hʌ ^{ʔ3} ne ² su ²]	‘firewood’
(this occurs in closed unstressed syllables)			
<i>o</i>	[o]	[ʔhot ³ su ²]	‘monkey’
<i>u</i>	[u]	[ʔhu ³ ki ³ su ²]	‘gun’

The vowel diphthongs are mid to front and mid to back.

<i>ai</i>	[ai]	[ʔhait ³ su ²]	‘field’
<i>au</i>	[au]	[ʔtau ³ na ¹ tu ¹ wa ²]	‘I will chop’

There are a series of nasal vowel counterparts for the same set as the oral vowels. The *o* does not occur nasalized. In the practical orthography, they are marked with a tilde over the vowel.

<i>ã</i>	[ã]	[ʔwã ³ kodn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘left over’
<i>ẽ</i>	[ẽ]	[ʔtẽ ³ a ¹ tu ¹ wa ²]	‘I will bring’
<i>ĩ</i>	[ĩ]	[ʔtĩ ¹ na ³ la ²]	‘It’s lost’
<i>ũ</i>	[ũ]	[yũ ³ yũ ³ ki ³ su ²]	‘night crawler’
<i>ãi</i>	[ãi]	[wa ² tãi ¹ tãin ¹ na ³ la ²]	‘thin’
<i>ãu</i>	[ãu]	[ʔãu ² li ² sa ³ nha ² wa ²]	‘bashful’

There are also a series of laryngealized vowel counterparts for the same set as the oral vowels. In the practical orthography, they are marked by underlining the vowel.

<i>ḁ</i>	[ḁ]	[ʔḁ ³ lh ^ʔ u ²]	‘pequi fruit’
<i>ḡ</i>	[ḡ]	[ʔḡ ³ rh ^ʔ u ²]	‘cashew’
<i>ḥ</i>	[ḥ]	[ʔḥ ³ na ³ la ²]	‘catch fire’
<i>ḋ</i>	[ḋ]	[ʔḋn ³ na ³ la ²]	‘food burning’
<i>ḥ</i>	[ḥ]	[ʔḥ ³ lha ³ nha ² wa ²]	‘I feel lazy’
<i>ḡi</i>	[ḡi]	[ʔḡin ³ te ³ la ¹ wa ²]	‘I’ll think about it’
<i>ḡu</i>	[ḡu]	[ʔḡun ³ na ³ la ²]	‘fester’

There are a series of vowels that are nasalized and laryngealized. They are marked by a tilde over the vowel and by underlining the vowel.

<i>ḁ̃</i>	[ḁ̃]	[ʔḁ̃ ³ li ² na ³ la ²]	‘different’
<i>ḡ̃</i>	[ḡ̃]	[ʔḡ̃ ³ rh ^ʔ u ²]	‘housefly’
<i>ḥ̃</i>	[ḥ̃]	[ʔḥ̃ ³ a ¹ tu ¹ wa ²]	‘I’ll plant’
<i>ḥ̃</i>	[ḥ̃]	[ʔḥ̃ ³ n ³ na ³ la ²]	‘savage’
<i>ḡ̃i</i>	[ḡ̃i]	[kḡ̃i ³ nũ ³ a ²]	‘ground (coffee)’
<i>ḡ̃u</i>	[ḡ̃u]	[ʔḡ̃u ³ sa ³ nha ² wa ²]	‘hungry for meat’

25.3. Tone. Each syllable must be marked by one of three phonemic tones.

Falling tone marked by a superscript ¹

Rising tone marked by a superscript ²

Low level tone marked by a superscript ³

Tone contrasts are illustrated in the second syllable of the three examples below.

(390) [ʔwã³na¹la²] 'I came' (recent past)

(391) [ʔwã³na²la²] 'He came' (recent past)

(392) [ʔwã³na³la²] 'He is coming' (present)

Tone is independent of laryngealization and nasalization.

(393) [ʔwĩ¹su²] 'toad'

(394) [ʔwĩ³sʔu²] 'yam'

(395) [ʔwã³sʔu²] 'toad'

(396) [wi¹na³la²] 'It's good'

(397) [ʔon²na³la²] 'It's burning'

(398) [ʔon³na³la²] 'It's left over'

25.4. Stress. Stress is phonemic. The root always receives the primary stress. It is not marked in the orthography because the cases are few in which the native speaker does not know where the root ends and the suffix system begins. In this section (25), stress is marked in the Nambikuara examples with an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable. In all other sections, it is not marked. From this point onward, all examples are written phonemically.

25.5. Length. Length is predictable on the basis of stress and syllable composition. The stressed syllable is always longer. If the syllable is open, the vowel is longer. If the syllable is closed, the final consonant is longer. In this section (25.5), length is indicated by reduplication of the vowel or consonant that is lengthened.

(399) A³luu²-na³la².

long-is

'It's long'.

(400) ka³lunn³-na³la².

lost-is

'It's lost'.

A normally stressed syllable may be given extra length for emphasis. In (401), *n* is a lengthened, unreleased nasal consonant. In (402) and (403), *x*

is a lengthened, unreleased glottal stop, for emphasis. The same effect can be had by lengthening the vowel instead of the glottal stop, as in (404).

- (401) *'Kāinn²-na³la².*
big-is
'It's big'.
- (402) *'Kāin²-khaixx¹-na³la².*
big-very-is
'It's very big'.
- (403) *'Kāin²-khaixxx¹-na³la².*
big-very, very-is
'It's very, very big'.
- (404) *'Kāin²-khaiiix¹-na³la².*
big-very, very-is
'It's very, very big'.

Another way of indicating emphasis is to repeat the syllable with normal stress and length.

- (405) *'Kāin²-khaix¹-khaix¹-khaix¹-na³la².*
big-very-very-very-is
'It's very, very, very big'.

25.6. Syllable structure. The smallest unit for the syllable is V, with the following expansion possibilities:

(C)(C)(C)V(V)(C)(C)

VV is possible only if the vowel diphthongs are considered as separate characters, which makes for a more complicated description of the phonology.

There is a CC syllable *-nx²* second-person singular, when followed by the second-person plural *-ti³*. The tone is carried in the nasal consonant.

- (406) *Ũ³'hũ¹-nx²-ti³-tu¹-wa².*
give-O.2SG-2PL-F-IMPF
'He will give to you (plural)'.
- (407) *A³'li³a¹tu¹wa²* 'I will leave'
- (408) *'in³txi³su²* 'man'
- (409) *'Wxān³ten¹tu³wa²* 'He came'
- (410) *Ka³'nahx²sxā³ 'yxau³na²hē³la²* 'He remained quiet'
- (411) *Hi²'nūn¹nyhuh¹na²hē³la²* 'They helped each other'
- (412) *'Tau³na¹tu¹wa²* 'I will chop'

(413) 'Aun³tain¹tu¹wa² 'They will leave'

25.7. Morphophonemics. The following set of ordered rules applies to any Nambikuara language text.

1. A morpheme ending in /n/ or a stop adds /t/ before /s/ or /y/ in the following morpheme.

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| (414) wa ² lit ¹ -su ² | wa ² lit ¹ -tsu ² | 'rubber' |
| (415) wa ³ lin ³ -su ² | wa ³ lin ³ -tsu ² | 'manioc' |
| (416) wa ³ lin ³ -yau ³ su ² | wa ³ lin ³ -tyau ³ su ² | 'manioc juice' |

(See rule 13 for the /ty/ change.)

2. In a morpheme-initial /nV/ preceded by a /t/, the nasality shifts to the vowel. Voicing ceases by assimilation to the preceding consonant.

- (417) Ka³lot³-na³la² Ka³lot³tā³la² 'It's dripping'

3. When /l/ and /l/ occur across morpheme boundaries, they coalesce to /t/.

- (418) sa³wil³-la³ sa³wi³ta³ 'no parakeet'

(See rule 12 for further modification.)

4. Morpheme-final /l/ disappears before a morpheme-initial /n/ or a stop.

- (419) 'Wil¹-na³la² 'Wi¹na³la² 'It's pretty'

5. Morpheme-final /t/ becomes /k/ before a morpheme-initial /k/. This in effect makes the /k/ long.

- (420) Ũ³het³-kĩ³tu¹wa² Ũ³hek³kĩ³tu¹wa² 'We will place'

6. When a morpheme-final /l/ precedes a morpheme-initial /s/, the /s/ becomes /h/. This has the effect of making the /l/ voiceless.

- (421) sa³wil³-su² sa³wil³hu² 'parakeet'

(See rule 16 regarding syllabification.)

7. Morphemes that end in /h/ before a morpheme-initial /xV/ add a second /h/. This has the effect of making the /h/ long and ambisyllabic.

- (422) Ũ³thũh³-xa³wa² Ũ³thũh³hxa³wa² 'It's not burning'

8. When a morpheme-final /Cx/ precedes a morpheme-initial /s/, the /x/ metathesizes to follow the /s/.

- (423) 'ehx³-su² 'eh³sxu² 'ax'

9. When a morpheme-final /nx/ or /lx/ precedes a /V/-initial morpheme, or when a morpheme-final /n/ or /l/ occurs before a morpheme-initial /xV/, the /x/ metathesizes to become first in the consonant cluster.

- | | | |
|---|--|----------|
| (424) wa ³ linx ³ -a ² | wa ³ li ³ xna ² | 'manioc' |
| (425) a ² hilx ³ -a ² | a ² hi ³ xla ² | 'liver' |

- (426) 'Wil¹-xa³wa² 'Wi¹xla³wa² 'It's not pretty'
 (426) 'Kāin²-xa³wa² 'Kāi²xna³wa² 'It's not big'

(See rule 16 regarding syllable division.)

10. When two vowels occur across morpheme boundaries in any post-stressed syllable, the first vowel is deleted. This rule does not apply to syllables preceding the stressed syllable.

- (428) 'Wa³-lxi²ain¹tu¹wa² 'Wa³lxain¹tu¹wa² 'They will return'
 (429) 'Ai³jxah¹lxi³-u¹la² 'Ai³jxah¹lxu¹la² 'You may go'
 (430) 'Wxā³na¹tu¹wa²-i¹ 'Wxā³na¹tu¹wi¹ 'I'll come' (quote)

There is one exception to this rule where the first vowel is retained and the second is deleted.

- (431) Ũ³hū¹sa³-in¹tait¹tu³wa² Ũ³hū¹san¹tait¹tu³wa² 'You gave me'

11. When two vowels occur across morpheme boundaries within the same word, and one of the morphemes but not the other is stressed, a transitional consonant /y/, /w/, or /n/ is added at the boundary. (After a front vowel insert /y/, after a central vowel insert /n/, and after a back vowel insert /w/.)

- (432) 'E³te³la¹wa² 'I will talk'
 (433) Ī³y-e³te³la¹wa² 'I will continue talking'
 (434) 'nū¹a² 'nū¹wa² 'there'
 (435) Sa²-āu²a¹tu¹wa² Sa²nāu²a¹tu¹wa² 'I will break'

12. When a syllable-final vowel in a stressed syllable is followed by a syllable-initial /t/ in an unstressed syllable, the stressed syllable adds a final /n/. In the first two examples, the /n/ is inserted because the criteria are met; but in the last example, the /n/ is not inserted due to the stress on the syllable starting with /t/ as well as the syllable starting with /n/. (This rule concludes the morphophonemic transformation begun in rule 3.)

- (436) sa³wi³-ta³ sa³win³ta³ 'parakeet'
 (437) 'na¹kxai²nā²-tu³ 'na¹kxai²nān²tu³ 'if'
 (438) 'Na¹-tu¹wa² 'Na¹tu¹wa² 'I will'

13. Whenever a /t/ is followed by /y/, they coalesce to become /j/.

- (439) 'tet²-tyu²hē³la² 'tet²ju²hē³la² 'customary action'

(This rule concludes the morphophonemic transformation begun by rule 1.)

14. Whenever a /tts/ cluster occurs as a result of applying rule 1, the syllable division comes after the first /t/.

- (440) wa²lit¹-su² wa²lit¹tsu² 'rubber'

15. Any single intervocalic consonant is the initial consonant of the second syllable.

- (441) 'Wil¹-ain¹na³la² 'Wi¹lain¹na³la² 'They are good'
 (442) 'Wa³kon³-a¹wa² 'Wa³ko³na¹wa² 'I'm working'

(This rule allows the correct pronunciation for the second syllable. Without application of the rule here, the /kon/ would be pronounced /kodn/ and would be incorrect.)

16. When two consonants occur intervocalically, and one of them is /x/ or /h/, the syllable break comes before the two consonants.

- (443) sa³'wi³hu² sa³'wi³lhu² 'parakeet'
 (444) Ũ³'thũh³xa³wa² Ũ³'thũh³hxa³wa² 'It's not burning'
 (445) 'Kāin²xa³la² 'Kāi²nxa³wa² 'Not big'

(This assumes that rule 7 has already been applied.)

17. When two consonants occur intervocalically, the syllable break comes between the consonants. (This rule assumes that rule 7 and rule 16 have already been applied and therefore clusters including /h/ or /x/ are not affected by this rule.)

- (446) 'Wa³kon³-kĩ³tu¹wa² 'Wa³kon³kĩ³tu¹wa² 'We will work'

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 First person; 2 Second person; 3 Third person; 1+2 First and second person; 1+3 First and third person.

ACTSP Actor specifier; ADD Add; ADV1 Adverb1; ADV2 Adverb2; ADVZ Adverbializer; af Angry frustration; als Also; AP Active process; APP Apparent; ART Article; AS Attention switch; ASP Aspect; AUX Auxiliary; AUX.DSR Desire; AUX.IMM Imminent; AUX.WNT Want.

BN Benefactive suffix.

CAUS Caused; CD Collective verification, Deduction orientation; CE Certainty emphaser; CHOIC Choice; CIMP Cessation imperative; CL Shape classifier; CLT Clitic; CN Collective verification, Narration orientation; CO Collective verification, Observation orientation; COMP Complement; CONC Concessional; cons Consecutive; cont Continuous; contf Contrary to thought; CS Change of state suffix; CTR Contrast.

DC.CLT Discontinuous phrase clitic; DEF Definite; DEM Demonstrative; DS.CLT Direct speech clitic; DSQ Delayed sequence; DU Dual.

EMPZ Emphasizer; EQUAT Equational; EXP Experience; EXPR Experienter.

F Future tense; FN Future negative; fore Foreboding; frnt First; frus Frustrated.

GR Group.

HAND Hand; HPROB High probability.

IC Individual verification, Customary orientation; ID Individual verification, Deduction orientation; IMPF Imperfective; IMSQ Immediate sequence; IN Individual verification, Narration orientation; indec Indecisive; indecq Indecision quoted; INDEF Indefinite; INSTL Instrumental prefix; INSTR Instrument; INTERN Internal; IO Individual verification, Observation orientation.

L Locative.

M Manner.

N Noun; N.CLT Negative clitic; NE Negative emphazizer; NEG Negative; NI Noun incorporation; NMZ Nominalizer; NSP Noun specifier; NSQ Normal sequence; NU Numeral.

O Object; OP Opinion; o.pers Object person.

P Past tense; PCN Phrase connector; PE Positive emphazizer; PF Perfective; PIMP Permissive imperative; PL Plural; PNS Pensive quote; PNS.CL Pensive quote closer; POS Possessive prefix; POS 1+2 Possessive inclusive; POS1 Possessive first person; POS2 Possessive second person; POS3 Possessive third person; PRECAUT Precautionary; PRES Present tense; PRH Prohibition; PRV Pro-verb; PTL Particle.

Q Question; Q.CLT Question clitic; QOP Quote opener.

RCP Reciprocal suffix; RDUP Reduplicated; REP Recent past tense; RFX Reflexive suffix; RP Remote past tense; rpt Again; RR Return referent.

s Subject; s.PERS Subject person; sd Strong desire; SE.PTL Speaker emotion particle; SEQ Sequential; SG Singular; SHRT Strong hortative; SHRTC Strong hortative of cessation; SIM Similarity; SIMP Strong imperative; SP Static process; SQT Sequential; STAT Static.

T Temporal; T/E Tense/evidential; TF Time frame suffix; TF.F Time frame future; TF.P Time frame past; TF.PRES Time frame present; TF.REP Time frame recent past; TF.RP Time frame remote past; THOT Thought.

UNSPCC Unspecified in continuum; UNSPCR Unspecified agent reflexively; UNSPG Unspecified agent on goal; up Urgent plea.

V Verb; VE Veracity emphazizer; VZ Verbalizer.

WH Question word; WHH Human; WHN Nonhuman; WHRT Weak hortative; WHRTC Weak hortative of cessation; WIMP Weak imperative; WRN Warning hortative.

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